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Proceedings
of the
Vermont Historical Society
1901-1902

With Lists of Members, Necrology and Reports.



**President's Address: "Benjamin Franklin
Stevens."**

**Paper: "Early Mention of Events and Places
in the Valley of Lake Champlain."**

David Sherwood Kellogg, M. D.

Paper: "Ethan Allen's Use of Language."

Robert Dewey Benedict.

FREE PRESS ASSOCIATION:
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1903.

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Robert Deway Benedict.

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OFFICERS, 1902-3,
OF THE
Vermont Historical Society.

PRESIDENT.

GEORGE GRENVILLE BENEDICT, Burlington, Vt.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

WILLIAM W. STICKNEY, Ludlow, Vt.

REV. WILLIAM SKINNER HAZEN, Northfield, Vt.

FRED A. HOWLAND, Montpelier, Vt.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

JOSEPH AREND DE BOER, Montpelier, Vt.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

THEODORE SAFFORD PECK, Burlington, Vt.

CHARLES SPOONER FORBES, St. Albans, Vt.

TREASURER.

HENRY FRANCIS FIELD, Rutland, Vt.

LIBRARIAN.

EDWARD M. GODDARD, Montpelier, Vt.

CURATORS, 1902.

EZRA BRAINERD, Addison County.

HENRY D. HALL, Bennington County.

HENRY FAIRBANKS, Caledonia County.

JOHN E. GOODRICH, Chittenden County.

GEORGE BECKETT, Orange County.

F. W. BALDWIN, Orleans County.

HIRAM CARLETON, Washington County.

FREDERICK G. FLEETWOOD, Sec. of State.

HORACE F. GRAHAM, State Auditor.

GEORGE W. WING, State Librarian.

} *Ex-officio.*

RESIDENT AND ACTIVE MEMBERS.

Alger, John L.	Johnson, Vt.
Allen, Charles E.	Burlington, Vt.
Allen, Martin Fletcher	Ferrisburgh, Vt.
*Babbitt, James H.	West Brattleboro, Vt.
Bailey, Horace Ward	Newbury, Vt.
Baldwin, Frederick W.	Barton, Vt.
*Barber, Alanson Darius.....	Williston, Vt.
Barnum, Elmer	Shoreham, Vt.
Barstow, John L.	Shelburne, Vt.
Beckett, George	Williamstown, Vt.
Benedict, George Grenville	Burlington, Vt.
Benedict, Robert Dewey	363 Adelphi St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Benton, Josiah Henry, Jr.....	Boston, Mass.
Bisbee, Arthur Brown	Montpelier, Vt.
Bliss, Charles M.	Bennington, Vt.
Brainerd, Ezra	Middlebury, Vt.
Briggs, George	Brandon, Vt.
Briggs, William A.	Montpelier, Vt.
Bröck, James W.	Montpelier, Vt.
Brown, Allan D.	Northfield, Vt.
Buckham, Matthew Henry	Burlington, Vt.
Carleton, Hiram	Montpelier, Vt.
*Chandler, George C.	Montpelier, Vt.
Clark, Osman Dewey	Montpelier, Vt.
Colburn, Robert M.	Springfield, Vt.
Collins, Edward D.	Barton Landing, Vt.
Comstock, John M.	Chelsea, Vt.
*Conant, Edward	Randolph, Vt.
Conland, James	Brattleboro, Vt.
Converse, John Heman ..	500 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Crockett, Walter H.	St. Albans, Vt.
Cudworth, Addison Edward	Londonderry, Vt.
Cushman, Henry T.	North Bennington, Vt.
Cutler, Harry M.	Montpelier, Vt.
*Dale, George N.	Island Pond, Vt.
Davenport, George	East Randolph, Vt.

Davis, Gilbert A.	Windsor, Vt.
Deavitt, Thomas Jefferson	Montpelier, Vt.
De Boer, Joseph Arend	Montpelier, Vt.
Dewey, Charles	Montpelier, Vt.
Dewey, Davis Rich	Boston, Mass.
Dillingham, William Paul	Waterbury, Vt.
Ellis, William Erba	Northfield, Vt.
Fairbanks, Edward T.	St. Johnsbury, Vt.
Fairbanks, Henry	St. Johnsbury, Vt.
Field, Henry Francis	Rutland, Vt.
Fifield, Benjamin Franklin	Montpelier, Vt.
Fiske, E. S.	Montpelier, Vt.
Fleetwood, Frederick G.	Morrisville, Vt.
Forbes, Charles Spooner	St. Albans, Vt.
Foster, David J.	Burlington, Vt.
Gifford, James Meacham	319 W. 102d St., New York City
Gilmore, William H.	Fairlee, Vt.
Goddard, Edward M.	Montpelier, Vt.
Goodrich, John Ellsworth	Burlington, Vt.
Gordon, John Warren	Barre, Vt.
Greene, Frank Lester	St. Albans, Vt.
*Grout, William W.	Barton, Vt.
Hall, Henry D.	Bennington, Vt.
Hall, Samuel B.	North Bennington, Vt.
Hamblet, Martin L.	Lowell, Mass.
Harvey, Erwin M.	Montpelier, Vt.
Hawkins, Rush C.	21 W. 20th St., New York City
Hawley, Donly C.	Burlington, Vt.
Hazen, William Skinner	Northfield, Vt.
Haselton, Seneca	Burlington, Vt.
Hines, G. A.	Brattleboro, Vt.
*Houghton, James Clay	Montpelier, Vt.
Howland, Fred A.	Montpelier, Vt.
*Huse, Hiram Augustus	Montpelier, Vt.
Hulburd, Roger W.	Hyde Park, Vt.
Jackson, John Henry	Barre, Vt.
Jennings, Frederick B.	New York City
Kelton, Dwight H.	Montpelier, Vt.

Laird, Fred Leslie	Montpelier, Vt.
Leavenworth, Philip	Castleton, Vt.
Lewis, Alonzo N.	Montpelier, Vt.
Martin, James L.	Brattleboro, Vt.
McCullough, Hall Park	North Bennington, Vt.
McCullough, John G.	North Bennington, Vt.
McIntyre, Hamden W.	Randolph, Vt.
Mimms, John H.	St. Albans, Vt.
Moulton, Clarence E.	Montpelier, Vt.
Munson, Loveland.	Manchester, Vt.
Page, Carroll, S.	Hyde Park, Vt.
Peck, Theodore Safford.	Burlington, Vt.
Perkins, George Henry	Burlington, Vt.
*Phinney, Truman C.	Montpelier, Vt.
Platt, Frederick S.	Poultney, Vt.
Platt, William N.	Shoreham, Vt.
Plumley, Frank.	Northfield, Vt.
Powers, Horace Henry.	Morrisville, Vt.
Preble, Richard Henry.	Shoreham, Vt.
Prouty, Charles A.	Newport, Vt.
Putnam, George K.	Montpelier, Vt.
Ranger, Walter E.	Montpelier, Vt.
Roberts, Robert.	Burlington, Vt.
Robinson, Daniel W.	Burlington, Vt.
Ropes, Arthur	Montpelier, Vt.
Royce, Homer Charles.	St. Albans, Vt.
Rowell, John W.	Randolph, Vt.
Sargent, John G.	Ludlow, Vt.
*Scott, George Washington	Montpelier, Vt.
Scott, Olin.	Bennington, Vt.
Senter, John H.	Montpelier, Vt.
Sheldon, Henry L.	Middlebury, Vt.
Smalley, Bradley B.	Burlington, Vt.
Smilie, Melville Earle	Montpelier, Vt.
Smith, Charles Albert.	Barre, Vt.
Smith, Clarence L.	Burlington, Vt.
Smith, Edward Curtis.	St. Albans, Vt.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

9

Smith, Fred Elijah.....	Montpeller, Vt.
Spalding, George Burley	Syracuse, N. Y.
Stafford, Wendell Phillips.....	St. Johnsbury, Vt.
Stanton, Zed S.	Roxbury, Vt.
Stewart, W. D.....	Bakersfield, Vt.
Stickney, William B. C.....	Bethel, Vt.
Stickney, William Wallace.....	Ludlow, Vt.
Stone, Arthur F.....	St. Johnsbury, Vt.
Stone, Mason Sereno.....	Manila, P. I.
Swift, Benjamin.....	Orwell, Vt.
Taylor, W. H.....	Hardwick, Vt.
Valentine, Alonzo B.....	Bennington, Vt.
Van Patten, William J.....	Burlington, Vt.
Ward, Harry Parker	Columbus, Ohio
Waite, Herschel N.....	Johnson, Vt.
Webb, William Seward.....	Shelburne, Vt.
Wheeler, James R.	433 West 117th St., New York City
Whitcomb, Charles Warren.....	Cavendish, Vt.
Wing, George Washington	Montpelier, Vt.
Woodbury, Urban A.....	Burlington, Vt.
Wright, George M.....	280 Broadway, New York City

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Benton, Everett C.....	Boston, Mass.
Bixby, George F.....	Plattsburgh, N. Y.
*Byington, Rev. E. H.	Newton, Mass.
Clarke, Col. Albert.....	Boston, Mass.
Canfield, Pres. James H., Ohio State University ..	Columbus, Ohio
Denio, Herbert W.....	Concord, N. H.
Hazen, Rev. Henry A.....	Billerica, Mass.
Houghton, Edward R.....	Cambridge, Mass.
*Isham, Edward Swift	718 The Temple, Chicago, Ill.
Jillson, Hon. Clark	Worcester, Mass.
Kellogg, David Sherwood, M. D.	Plattsburg, N. Y.
Lord, Prof. Charles Dana	Hanover, N. H.
Phelps, James T.	Boston, Mass.

* Deceased.

- *Stevens, Benjamin Franklin London, England
Walker, Rev. Edwin Sawyer Springfield, Ill.
Winslow, Rev. William Copley, D. D. Boston, Mass.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

- Burgess, Prof. John W. New York City
Clark, Chas. Edgar, Rear Admiral, U.S.N., Naval Home, Phila., Pa.
Dewey, George, Admiral, U. S. N. Washington, D. C.
Simpson, John W. 25 Broad St., New York City
*Smith, Wm. Farrar, Major-General, 1013 Clinton St., Phila., Pa.
*Wood, Thomas W. New York City

* Deceased.

THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PROCEEDINGS, 1901.

Pursuant to written notice, the Vermont Historical Society held its Sixty-third Annual Meeting at the State House, Montpelier, Vermont, Tuesday, 2 P. M., October 15, 1901. The meeting was called to order by the Secretary in the absence of the President, and on motion of Mr. B. F. Fifield, Hon. Charles Dewey was chosen President *pro tempore*.

The following members were present: Charles Dewey, B. F. Fifield, O. D. Clark, George C. Chandler, George W. Scott, George Beckett, J. A. DeBoer, James C. Houghton, Hiram Carleton and Rev. A. N. Lewis.

The Treasurer, George W. Scott, presented his report, showing cash on hand July 16, 1901, \$215.81; receipts from dues, \$75.00; disbursements \$11.16; and cash on hand, \$279.65.

The Secretary, in behalf of the Board of Managers, reported the receipt by the Society from Mr. B. F. Stevens of London, of a fine manuscript map of the Fortress of Crown Point. A memorandum by the President on the death of Charles M. Wilds, member of the Society, was read and ordered to be spread upon the records. It is as follows:

CHARLES MANLY WILDS. (Died February 15, 1901.)

Mr. Wilds was born in Bristol, Vermont, July 8, 1856. He graduated at Middlebury College in 1876, took a post-graduate course at Yale and commenced the study of law in the office of Wales & Taft in Burlington in 1878. A year later he entered the office of Stewart & Eldredge, of Middlebury, and, after admission to the Bar of Addison County,

became a partner of Hon. John W. Stewart, a partnership which continued until Mr. Wilds' death. He took a high rank in his profession, especially as a corporation lawyer, and at his death held the important position of counsel of the reorganized Central Vermont Railroad Company, to which he was appointed in 1897. He was a director in the Central Vermont and Grand Trunk Railroad corporations, was a trustee of Middlebury College and has held various offices of trust. He stood very high as a man. He left a son, Percival, and two daughters, his wife (who was a Miss Wright) having died in 1890.

On motion of Mr. Houghton, the election of officers was postponed until 2 P. M., November 5, 1901.

The following gentlemen were elected active members of the Society: Mr. Edward M. Goddard, of Montpelier; Mr. Clarence E. Moulton, of Montpelier; Col. Bradley B. Smalley, of Burlington; Hon. Robert Roberts, of Burlington; Dr. Donly C. Hawley, of Burlington; Hon. Seneca Haselton, of Burlington; Mr. Walter H. Crockett, of St. Albans.

David Sherwood Kellogg, M. D., of Plattsburg, N. Y., was elected a corresponding member, and Hon. John W. Simpson of New York City, an honorary member.

On motion, the Society adjourned to reconvene on November 5, 1901, at 2 P. M.

ADJOURNED ANNUAL MEETING.

Pursuant to notice, the Society reconvened at the Capitol, in Montpelier, Tuesday, November 5, 1901. The following members were present: Rev. William S. Hazen, Dr. George Davenport, Edward Conant, George C. Chandler, Charles Dewey, Hiram Carleton, George W. Scott, Osman

D. Clark, Dr. A. B. Bisbee, Edward M. Goddard, James C. Houghton, J. A. De Boer.

The meeting was called to order and opened with prayer by the Rev. William S. Hazen.

On motion of Mr. De Boer, it was voted to appoint a committee of five to report a list of officers for the year next ensuing. The Chair appointed as such committee Messrs. De Boer, Carleton, Houghton, Conant, Davenport.

The Committee reported the following list of officers and, on motion of Mr. Dewey, the Secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the Society for the same, and they were unanimously elected.

President—George G. Benedict of Burlington, Vt.

Vice-Presidents—William S. Hazen, Robert M. Colburn, James C. Houghton.

Recording Secretary—Joseph A. De Boer of Montpelier, Vt.

Corresponding Secretaries—Theodore S. Peck, Col. Charles S. Forbes.

Treasurer—Henry F. Field of Rutland, Vt.

Librarian—Edward M. Goddard of Montpelier, Vt.

Curators—Henry D. Hall, Bennington County; Rev. Henry Fairbanks, Caledonia County; Mr. Frank Lester Greene, Franklin County; Hon. George N. Dale, Essex County; Mr. Edward Conant, Orange County; Hon. Hiram Carleton, Washington County.

On motion of Mr. Houghton, the Society voted its thanks to the retiring Treasurer, Mr. George W. Scott, for his long and faithful work in that office.

On motion of Mr. De Boer, the Society voted its thanks to the retiring Librarian, Mr. T. C. Phinney, for his faithful

service, and its sympathy in his present illness and hopes for his speedy recovery.

Mr. George K. Putnam and Mr. William A. Briggs, both of Montpelier, were elected active members of the Society.

The annual meeting then adjourned.

PROCEEDINGS, 1902.

Pursuant to printed notice, the Vermont Historical Society held its Sixty-fourth Annual Meeting in its rooms at the State House, Montpelier, Vermont, Tuesday afternoon, October 14, 1902.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Hon. George Grenville Benedict.

The following members were present: Charles S. Forbes, St. Albans; Theodore S. Peck, Burlington; George Beckett, Williamstown; John H. Mimms, St. Albans; Frank L. Greene, St. Albans; Wm. P. Dillingham, Waterbury; Henry F. Field, Rutland; and Charles Dewey, Hiram Carleton, O. D. Clark, George K. Putnam, W. E. Ranger, F. A. Howland, C. E. Moulton and Joseph A. De Boer, of Montpelier.

The Librarian's report was omitted on account of the illness of the Librarian, but ordered to be included in the published proceedings, when received.

The Treasurer, Hon. H. F. Field, reported: Balance received from George W. Scott, former treasurer, \$310.78; interest on same, \$4.57; from membership and annual dues, \$30.00; total, \$345.35. Disbursed for sundry expenses, \$30.95; cash on hand, \$314.40.

Secretary De Boer, in behalf of the Board of Managers, reported as follows:

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS.

The Board of Managers, who are charged with the duty of superintending the general concerns of the Society, respectfully submit that, with the exceptions hereinafter referred to, nothing of consequence has occurred since the last annual meeting and that there is also nothing with which this report need necessarily deal.

The Librarian and Treasurer will respectively submit their reports for the year and any donations received will be mentioned in course.

We refer with great regret to the extraordinary mortality experienced in our membership during the past year, about ten per cent. of our entire list having been removed by death, including one of the vice-presidents, a former librarian, a treasurer and a curator of the Society. We have arranged for the introduction of suitable memoranda of the lives of these members under its proper order of business.

The President of the Society has made arrangements for the usual public exercises, which, so far as can now be determined, will take place in the Hall of Representatives on Tuesday evening, October 28, 1902. We suggest that the annual meeting be adjourned until that date or to such date as may be fixed for those exercises.

They will include a biographical sketch of Benjamin Franklin Stevens of London, England, as part of the President's address, a paper by Dr. David S. Kellogg of Plattsburg, N. Y., on "Early Mention of Events and Places in the Valley of Lake Champlain," and a paper by the Hon. Robert Dewey Benedict of New York City, on "Ethan Allen's Use of Language." The Society is congratulated upon having before it so excellent and instructive a program and the

hope is herein expressed that the occasion will supply a more than usually large sized attendance.

We recommend that the Society vote a specific invitation of attendance upon its public meeting to the State officers and Legislature, to the Judiciary also, and to the learned and patriotic organizations in this State, and a general invitation to the public.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS.

Your attention is directed to certain parts of the Constitution and By-Laws, which, while in force, have become practically obsolete in due course of time. It is respectfully submitted that a healthy condition can be implied only by an active furtherance of all duties, superimposed or otherwise, of the Society's Constitution, and that suspension of any part deserves consideration by the members, whether such suspension grows out of changed conditions or not.

Article I of the Constitution, for example, refers to Corresponding Members, a distinction preserved in the membership roll but of no genuine account in actual work. The business of corresponding has become substantially a dead letter instead of being a living law. This, however, is a small question compared with that of accountability for certain phases of our work which have practically disappeared altogether. We refer, for example, to Chapter II, Sec. 2, where provision is made for the management of three departments, the Historical, Natural History and Horticulture. To us it seems not improbable that the Society will conclude, after discussion, that the conditions under which its work must perforce be done in these days, as compared with sixty-four years ago, render it expedient and desirable to discontinue the departments of Natural History and Horticulture.

If that be so, would it not be advisable to make suitable amendments to the Constitution, in order that practice may more closely conform to constitutional requirements?

We also think it not improper to direct earnest attention to the definition of duties as laid down for the different officers and committees, feeling assured that this will not be construed as in any sense hypercritical, since the Board making this report itself consists by By-Law No. 8 of all the curators and all the officers. One of the Vermont Statutes also provides that the Secretary of State, the State Auditor and the State Librarian shall be *ex-officio* curators. We are of the opinion that this brings those officers under the operation of the Society's Constitution and By-Laws and, therefore, that the duties applicable to the office of Curator become directly applicable to them. At all events, we deem it right to call this to attention and, particularly, the provisions for the care of the library and the printing and publication of documents and collections.

Without further detailing these matters, we recommend the appointment of a committee, with instructions to take this general subject under advice and to report thereon, with recommendations, to a subsequent meeting of the Society. It may be found desirable to discontinue certain features of the work and to amend others, with a view to more complete and more extended results. At the same time, we do not fail to recognize the wise, honorable and patriotic purposes of the Society's founders in all the provisions of the Constitution and By-Laws as they exist to-day.

STATUTES RELATING TO THE SOCIETY.

The Constitution and By-Laws were printed with the Proceedings of 1900 and need not be repeated this year;

but, in order that the members may be made familiar with the State laws which in any way affect the Society, we think it advisable to include existing statutes in this report. These will be found in Chapter XIX, Sections 205, 206 and 207, page 109, of the Vermont Statutes, 1894.

In our opinion, all these provisions of law are eminently wise and discreet and constitute a strong endorsement of the interest which the Legislatures have always taken in the Society and the value which the State has attached to its books, collections and other property. It will be noted that Section 205 gives the Society an opportunity to do a considerable amount of work in the way of binding, framing, mounting and preserving its collections, while Section 206 insures to all those who are induced to make donations the perpetual care and preservation of their gifts, either as part of the property of an active society or else, in the event of its dissolution for any cause, as the property of the State. These two provisions of the law give to the Vermont Historical Society a mixed private and public status, a fact in itself most interesting, but, as it seems to us, especially so in its bearing upon the perpetuity of its existence.

We advise, also—a thing which has not been done as contemplated by the statute—that the appropriation of one hundred dollars annually be regularly used hereafter for the purposes named.

The Statutes are as follows:

Sec. 205. An annual sum of one hundred dollars is appropriated to be expended under the direction of the trustees for binding and preserving by properly mounting or framing, books, documents and other property of the Vermont Historical Society; and an account of such expenditures shall be kept, which shall be audited by the state

auditor upon the approval of the president and librarian of the society, and the State auditor shall draw orders for the same.

Sec. 206. When the Vermont Historical Society is dissolved, the books, collections and property thereof shall become the property of the State; and the society shall not sell or dispose of any part of its books or collections, except by way of exchange; and any sale or disposal thereof shall be void.

Sec. 207. The Secretary of State, State auditor, and the State librarian shall be, by virtue of their offices, members of the historical society and of the board of curators thereof."

Respectfully submitted, this 14th day of October, 1902.

BOARD OF MANAGERS,

By Jos. A. De Boer, Secretary.

On motion by Mr. Dewey, a committee consisting of Messrs. De Boer, Carleton and Howland was appointed to consider the question of amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws and to report to the next meeting of the Society.

By general assent, the order of business was suspended and the President announced that the next business would be the election of new members. The following elections were duly made: Rear Admiral Charles E. Clark, U. S. N., and Major-General William Farrar Smith, U. S. A., as honorary members; David J. Foster, Burlington; John Ellsworth Goodrich, Burlington; Frederick G. Fleetwood, Morristown; James R. Wheeler, New York City; James Conland, Brattleboro; Arthur Ropes, Montpelier; Daniel W. Robinson, Burlington; Erwin M. Harvey, Montpelier; Edward D. Collins, Barton Landing; and W. H. Gilmore, Fairlee, as active members.

On motion of Gen. Peck, the President appointed a committee consisting of Messrs. Peck, Carleton, Ranger, Beckett and De Boer to recommend to the Society a list of officers for the year next ensuing. This committee withdrew for consideration and subsequently presented their report which was accepted and adopted.

On motion of Mr. Dewey, the Secretary was unanimously instructed to cast the ballot of the Society for the entire list of officers reported by the special committee, which being done, the President announced them duly elected.

OFFICERS FOR 1902-3.

President—George Grenville Benedict, Burlington.

Vice-Presidents—William W. Stickney, Ludlow; Rev. William S. Hazen, Northfield; F. A. Howland, Montpelier.

Recording Secretary—Joseph A. De Boer, Montpelier.

Corresponding Secretaries—Theodore S. Peck, Burlington; Charles S. Forbes, St. Albans.

Treasurer—Henry F. Field, Rutland.

Librarian—Edward M. Goddard, Montpelier.

Curators—Henry D. Hall, Bennington County; Rev. Henry Fairbanks, Caledonia County; Rev. John E. Goodrich, Chittenden County; George Beckett, Orange County; F. W. Baldwin, Orleans County; Hiram Carleton, Washington County; Rev. Ezra Brainerd, Addison County; F. G. Fleetwood, Secretary of State; Horace F. Graham, State Auditor; and George W. Wing, State Librarian, *ex-officio*.

The President appointed the following Standing Committees:

On Library—Joseph A. De Boer, E. M. Goddard, J. E. Goodrich.

On Printing—T. S. Peck, F. A. Howland, F. W. Baldwin.

On Finance—H. Carleton, H. F. Field, W. W. Stickney.

The Secretary presented biographical data in relation to the death of members during the year 1901-02. It was voted that the same should be recorded and made part of the published Proceedings.

Necrology.

WILLIAM W. GROUT. Born at Compton, P. Q., May 24, 1836; early education in common schools and local academy; graduated 1857 from Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Law School; admitted to the Bar of Orleans County, Vermont, in 1857; Lieut.-Colonel, Fifteenth Vermont Regiment, October 1862; mustered out in August, 1863; commanded provisional troops for defence of eastern half of Vermont frontier in fall of 1864; on re-organization of Vermont Militia elected Brigadier-General; State's Attorney of Orleans County, 1865-66; Representative for Town of Barton, 1868, 1869, 1870 and 1874; State Senator for Orleans County, 1876-7; Congressman, 1880-1900, Committee on Territories, Education, District of Columbia and Appropriations; married, 1860, Loraine M. Smith, who died in 1868; not remarried; lost his two children in their infancy; himself died October 9th, 1902; was buried in St. Johnsbury, Vt.;—a distinguished Vermonter, a brave soldier, a conservative legislator, a careful statesman, who in his day did the State large service and will long be remembered as one of its most eminent men.

HIRAM AUGUSTUS HUSE. Born at Randolph, Vermont, January 17, 1843; removed, with his parents, to Wisconsin in 1845 and had his home there till 1868; educated in the red school house, at Willard Seminary, Watertown, Wis. and at Dixon, Illinois; fitted for college, 1860, Orange County Grammar School, Randolph, Vermont; entered Dartmouth College, 1861; enlisted in Company F. Twelfth Regiment, Vermont Volunteers, August 19, 1862; mustered out July 14, 1863; graduated from Dartmouth College 1865; attended the Albany Law School 1866-7; admitted to the Bar in 1867; teacher, State Normal School at Randolph, 1871-2; moved to Montpelier, 1872, and for ten years an editorial writer on the *Green Mountain Freeman*; State Librarian, 1873-1902; Representative from Montpelier, 1878; State's Attorney, Washington County, 1882-4; law partnership with Clarence H. Pitkin, 1883-90; with William P. Dillingham and Fred A. Howland, 1890-1902; married Harriet Olivia Woodbury of Randolph, January 30, 1872; two children, both living, Harriet Emily and Ray Woodbury Huse; died at Williamstown, Vt., September 27, 1902; buried at Montpelier;—a true son; an unselfish worker; a good citizen; an able lawyer; an exact scholar; the upbuilder of the State Library.

JAMES CLAY HOUGHTON. Born at Petersham, Mass., September 2, 1841; educated at East Windsor Hill, Conn.; graduated from Amherst College, 1862; student of law at Chelsea, Vt., 1862-3; cashier, Orange County National Bank, Chelsea, Vt., 1864-71; cashier, First National Bank, Montpelier, 1872-1884; Representative from Montpelier, 1886; Treasurer, National Life Insurance Company, 1885-1896; Vice-President, 1897-1900; President, 1901; died at

Naples, Italy, March 4, 1902; buried in Greenmount Cemetery, Montpelier, Vt.; married Grace R. Blackwell of Philadelphia, 1869; two children, both living, Edward Rittenhouse and Grace Morton Houghton;—prominent in local affairs; a successful banker; a faithful trustee; an advocate of progress; a high-minded official; an affable, kind and genial gentleman.

EPHRAIM MORRIS. Born at Strafford, Vt., May 11, 1832; educated in the common schools, Thetford Academy and Norwich University; worked in wholesale mercantile house, Boston, 1851-4; engaged in the manufacture of chairs in Hartford, Vt., in partnership with his father and afterwards with his brother, from 1854 on; treasurer of the Ottaquechee Woolen Company, of which he took controlling interest in 1874; president of the Hartford Woolen Company, which, with his brother, he organized; traveled in America, Europe and the Orient; representative from Hartford in 1896; vice-president of the National Bank of White River Junction; married Almira M. Nickerson of South Dennis, Mass., September 14, 1854; two children, Mrs. Kate (Morris) Cone and Annie (Morris) Stevens; died August, 1901, and was buried at Hartford, Vt.:—a good business man; prominent in town affairs; founder of its free library; conservator of religious and educational institutions.

TRUMAN C. PHINNEY. Born at Middlesex, Vt., April 11, 1827; educated in district school of his own town; learned the jeweler's trade at Brandon, Vt., after age of seventeen; came to Montpelier in 1849 and engaged in jewelry business, with partner and by himself, until 1862; went

to California in 1863; returned to Montpelier in 1864 and engaged in business with Denison Dewey and afterwards, in the year 1869, bought out and conducted the Ballou Book Store until 1885; elected Sergeant-at-Arms in 1870, holding said office thirty-one consecutive years; married Sarah E. Barnes of Albany, Ill., September 11, 1855; four children, all living, Mrs. Mary A. McIntyre, Jennie P., Anna W. and Robert T. Phinney; died December 16, 1901, at his home in Montpelier and was buried in Greenmount Cemetery;—an honest man; a good Christian; a loyal associate; a true friend; a careful workman; and a faithful custodian of the property of the State.

GEORGE W. SCOTT. Born at Cabot, Vt., March 16, 1809; early in life worked for a country merchant; came to Montpelier in 1827 to attend school; clerk and partner with the firm of Baldwin & Hutchins until the age of thirty-four; in general merchandise in the old Willard corner, 1861-1878; retired permanently from active business in 1878; director of the Montpelier National Bank, 1884-1902; town treasurer, 1861-1870; county commissioner, 1860-2; married Jeannette H. Langdon in 1834, deceased; one daughter now living, Mrs. Andrew J. Howe; died August 30, 1902, and was buried in Greenmount Cemetery, Montpelier;—the first, oldest and most even-minded gentleman of his day; true to his town; faithful to his church; virtuous in his home, carrying in his soul through nearly all the years of the nineteenth century the noblest reflections of old life in Vermont.

GEORGE CORNELIUS CHANDLER. Born at Tunbridge, Vt., 1831; spent his early life in his native town; served the Union in the Civil War; previous to the war worked in

Kansas, and subsequent to the war was a broker in New York City; returned to Berlin and Montpelier some years ago and led a quiet life in practical retirement; was for years an earnest and faithful member and officer of this Society, making a tentative catalogue of its properties in 1900; died at his home in Montpelier, September 28, 1901;—a quiet scholar; an historian beyond his means; an antiquarian without an opportunity; a sincere, gracious, dignified but gentle lover of his State, its people and its history.

REV. ALANSON DARIUS BARBER. Born at Beekmantown, N. Y., October 22, 1818; graduated from the University of Vermont 1846; from Andover Theological Seminary 1848; preached in Peru, N. Y., Willsboro, N. Y., Williston, Vt., Clarendon, Vt. and in Pennsylvania; edited the *Vermont Chronicle* 1877-1884; in brief charge of the *New York Observer*; contributor constantly to the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, the *Presbyterian Review*, the *Princeton Review*, the *New Englander* and other quarterlies; a frequent contributor to the press; a speaker before educational bodies in this State; for six years, 1896-1902, an active member and curator of the Vermont Historical Society; twice married, the second time to Lucretia Miller of Williston, Vt., who survives him with one son and an adopted daughter;—a good minister, a careful scholar, a strong reasoner, an effective user of English, a constant aid to his community; a man in whom love of truth maintained a habit of study till past his eightieth year.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

To the Hon. G. G. Benedict, President of the Vermont Historical Society:

SIR:—I have the honor to submit to you my first report as librarian and cabinet keeper of the Vermont Historical Society, covering the period from November 1901 to November 1902.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The accessions to the library of the Society during the last biennial period have been about the same as during past years. From the date of the last report of my predecessor, Mr. Truman C. Phinney, to November 1st, 1901, the Society received eighty-three bound volumes and one hundred and fifty-seven pamphlets and magazines. From November, 1901, the date I assumed charge of the library, to November 1, 1902, the accessions have consisted of sixty-six bound volumes and eighty-nine pamphlets, making the total additions for the two years one hundred and forty-nine volumes and one hundred and forty-six pamphlets.

In addition to the above, many historical magazines and periodicals have also been received from various sources. It will be noted that the number of volumes received is very small and much less than it should be. This is, I think, partly due to the fact that the Society has little to offer in the way of exchange, so that other societies and libraries do not send us as much material as they would if we could offer them more matter than is now possible.

I would suggest in this connection, that steps be taken to prepare a third volume of Vermont Historical Collections. Mr. Charles Reed, in his report to the Society in October, 1872, stated that ample materials, rich in interest relating to the proceedings and debates in the General Assembly and the State Conventions that attended the admission of Vermont into the Union in 1790-91, had at that time been collected and that a volume could be prepared for the press during the following winter. His untimely death prevented his completing the work he had commenced and nothing further in that direction has been done since.

The material for this work is still available and I trust that it may be made use of at an early day and a third volume added to our already published collections.

There is also another field of work that it seems to me the Society should cultivate. I refer to the many documents and records that now lie neglected in the offices of the various town clerks throughout the State. Although I am well aware that the Society is unable to do this work alone, or provide the necessary funds for it, yet we can at least call the attention of the people of the State and of the local authorities to the importance of providing proper safeguards for the preservation of the same.

There are many local records and documents that ought to be preserved with special care, and provision should be made for reprinting many of them.

The attention of the legislature should be called to this subject and active measures taken at the next session of the General Assembly to have an appropriation made so that something may be done in saving these exceedingly valuable records, that contain so much of vital interest relating to the early history of the State.

The conditions under which the work of your librarian is carried on are far from satisfactory. Badly hampered by crowded quarters and overflowing shelves, and the absence of much needed library appliances and conveniences for the use of the books and manuscripts, and the continued growth of the library, it is more necessary than ever before that some provision should be made for enlarged quarters or at least additional shelf room.

When it is understood that all books and pamphlets received during the past three years have been temporarily placed on shelves in the State Library, for lack of space on our own shelves, and that a large number of books belonging to the Society are stored in various rooms of the State House, and are therefore practically inaccessible, the need for additional shelf room becomes apparent. Unless some remedy is found for the present crowded condition the result will be disastrous to the welfare of the library and its usefulness greatly impaired.

I would recommend that the librarian be authorized to expend a sufficient sum of money to have the books and pamphlets that are now in the cases in rooms No. 12 and 14 of the State House, re-arranged; all duplicates taken out; the unbound pamphlets and magazines prepared for binding, and also provide for the proper storage in some other place of the duplicate copies of the publications of the Society as well as other duplicates that are now occupying the shelves, making available space thus obtained for books that are now stored away that ought to be properly shelved. The expense of this work will not be large, and I trust that authority for it will be granted at once.

ADDITIONAL STACKS.

During the past year I have caused to be made estimates for the construction of a stack in the rooms of the Society. The plan suggested being to remove the wall cases now in use and erect in their place a double stack of standard design, this work can be done for about one thousand dollars and when completed would give accommodation in this room for nearly three times the present number of volumes now shelved there, without interfering with its present use.

With the active co-operation of the members of the Society, I feel sure that sufficient funds can be raised for this much needed improvement, and I would suggest that the President appoint a committee to investigate this matter and empower it to solicit contributions to a fund to be used for this work.

CLASSIFICATION AND CATALOGUING.

Some progress ought to be made in the classification and cataloguing of the library, and until it is done the use of the library must necessarily be limited and unsatisfactory. With the constantly increasing calls upon the librarian for material relating to the early history of the State, and for the study of family history and genealogical research, the necessity of a full and proper classification and catalogue of the library becomes more essential and pressing.

A large amount of historical matter of value is contained in pamphlets and books that the librarian may know belong to the Society, and are in the library, but which when called for are practicably inaccessible because of the lack of proper arrangement and classification; this condition of affairs causes much complaint and a great deal of unnecessary labor.

Too much stress cannot be laid upon this important matter, and if we are to go on increasing our collection of books and accepting gifts of valuable historical material, a complete card catalogue should be made. The work of classifying and cataloguing the library can only be done successfully and well by experts, and although the expense of preparing a proper catalogue will be large, I trust that means may be found to do it and some action in relation to this work be taken in the near future so that the library may be made of the most service to those who desire to use it.

BINDING.

There are in the library many volumes of unbound periodicals and many pamphlets that have been received in years past that are unclassified and unavailable in their present condition.

The work of preparing these pamphlets and periodicals for binding should be taken up at once and progress made in classifying and arranging them so that they may be properly preserved. This work I deem to be of great importance and further delay in doing it will surely result in loss and in finding ourselves unable to complete sets of magazines and periodicals that are now, in some cases at least, imperfect.

Since assuming charge of the library I have brought together several manuscripts and papers belonging to the Society, consisting of original charters and deeds of Vermont towns and various documents relating to the early history of the State. These documents have been carefully and neatly mounted on silk and bound in a substantial manner by the Emery Record Preserving Company of Taunton, Mass. Four volumes have been prepared in this manner. One of them, a

large folio measuring 30 by 36 inches, contains various charters and proprietors' deeds of Vermont towns, eleven documents in all. Another volume contains copies of various town charters and lists of proprietors of different towns in the State, seven manuscripts in all.

The commission from Governor Clinton of New York, to Justices of the Peace in Cumberland County, dated 1782, has also been suitably mounted and bound.

The fourth volume is a collection of fourteen manuscripts covering the period from 1775 to 1791, and has been labeled "Acts of Conventions and State Papers, 1775-1791." This volume contains the following documents, viz:

1. Proceedings of meeting at Westminster, Feb. 7, 1775.
2. Resolutions of Congress against Vermont, June 30, 1777.
3. Report on letter to President of New Hampshire Council, October 12, 1778.
4. Allen's report of his mission to New Hampshire, April 19, 1779.
5. Letter of Governor Chittenden to Congress, July 25, 1780.
6. Notice from Committee of Cornish Convention, Feb. 14, 1781.
7. Resolution for dissolution of Cornish Convention, April 6, 1781.
8. Commission of Delegates to Congress, July 10, 1781.
9. Journal of General Assembly, October 16, 1781.
10. Commission of Delegates to Congress, March 13, 1782.
11. Neutrality Proclamation by Governor of Massachusetts, 1784.
12. Act of Vermont Convention adopting constitution of U. S., January 10, 1791.

13. Act of Congress admitting Vermont into the Union, February 18, 1791.
14. Certified copy of Act admitting Vermont into the Union, February 22, 1791.

The printed copy of the sermon preached by the Rev. Aaron Hutchinson at Windsor, July 2, 1777, at the convention for forming the State of Vermont, and the pamphlet entitled "A copy of the Remonstrance of the Council of the State of Vermont against the resolutions of Congress * * *," printed by Hudson & Goodwin, 1783, have both been neatly and carefully bound.

This work has been paid for from the yearly appropriation of \$100 made to the Society by the legislature, and although the expense of the work has been considerable, the result is very satisfactory. Other material of the same character is in course of preparation and will be bound during the year.

A larger appropriation for work of this kind should be asked for so that other manuscripts and papers belonging to the Society can be preserved in a similar manner.

THE CABINET.

The work of rearranging the articles in the cabinet and placing new labels on the same, has progressed fairly well. It seemed best to have new locks placed on the large case, which has been done, and some minor repairs have been made to the cases, so that everything is now in good condition.

During the past two years several notable gifts have been received from different sources and many additions of a valuable nature have been promised to us. Of these gifts, I desire to call your particular attention to a bequest made to

the Society by the late Henry K. Elkins of Chicago, which was received in February, 1902.

This consists of a collection of Vermont coins, paper money and manuscripts, contained in a handsome mahogany cabinet. The collection of coins is of especial importance and note, consisting as it does of specimens of nearly every variety of the copper coins issued by authority of the State of Vermont in the years 1785-1788.

Among the manuscripts bequeathed by Mr. Elkins, is an Arithmetic written by his father, Jonathan Elkins, while confined in Plymouth Mill prison, England, during the Revolutionary War, together with a letter explaining the circumstances under which it was prepared. There are other interesting documents relating to the early history of Vermont, and also a large amount of paper money. A full description of the collection would occupy too much space in this report; but I have in preparation a detailed list and account of the same which will show more fully its scope and value, which I hope to publish during the coming year.

In accordance with the request of the executors of Mr. Elkins's estate, this entire collection is to be kept intact and known as the "Elkins Collection," and I have had placed on the cabinet containing the same, a silver plate suitably engraved.

Capt. Stephen F. Brown of Swanton, Vermont, has presented to the Society a sabre and belt which he captured from a Confederate officer during Pickett's charge at the battle of Gettysburg. Captain, then Lieutenant, Brown was a member of Company K, 13th Vermont Regiment, and at the time of the capture of this sabre was armed only with a camp hatchet, his own sword being at brigade headquarters because he was temporarily under arrest for a disobedience

of orders, from which upon explanation he was released.

This sabre and belt have been properly mounted and a plate giving their history has been engraved and placed upon the sheath.

I cannot close this report without making an urgent appeal to the members of the Society, wherever they may be, to take an enthusiastic interest in the work that we have before us and with zeal and enterprise assist in adding to our already valuable collection of historical material. Concerted action in this regard will surely bring good results, and I sincerely hope that during the coming year each member will do what lies in his power to further the purposes of the Society.

During the past ten years the library has not increased as rapidly as it ought and much material is still needed to make our collection complete, and only by united effort can the proper work of the Society be accomplished in the manner that its importance deserves.

As the years go on an ever increasing amount of valuable historical material both in manuscript form and otherwise becomes lost or out of our reach and every effort should be made to prevent this loss.

If the recommendations that I have made are acted upon, I feel confident that sufficient room can be obtained so that a larger growth of the library than in past years will not burden us. Certainly the changes will provide for much better service than we can now give, and make accessible many books and documents that are now exceedingly difficult to find and refer to.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD M. GODDARD,

Librarian.

On motion of Mr. Dewey, a committee consisting of Messrs. Benedict, Howland, Carleton and De Boer was appointed to make all necessary arrangements for the public meeting and exercises referred to in the Report of the Board of Managers.

On motion, the Society adjourned, to meet for the public exercises, October 30, 1902.

Attest: JOSEPH AREND DE BOER,

Recording Secretary.

1622250

PUBLIC EXERCISES.

Pursuant to adjournment and printed notification, the Society met at 7.30 P. M. October 30, 1902, in the Hall of the House of Representatives. A large and distinguished audience was present, including members of the Society, a delegation from the Daughters of the American Revolution, members of the House and Senate, Judges of the Supreme Court and His Excellency, the Governor of the State.

Prayer was offered by the Rev. Alonzo N. Lewis, of Montpelier. The Hon. George G. Benedict, President of the Society, then spoke as follows in relation to the late Benjamin Franklin Stevens, of London, England.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT.

Gentlemen of the Historical Society and Ladies and Gentlemen:

The past year of this Society has been marked by an unusual number of losses of officers and members by death. The names of our Vice-President, James Clay Houghton; of George Washington Scott, our late Treasurer; of George C. Chandler, our former librarian; of Hiram Augustus Huse and Rev. Alanson D. Barber, Curators; of T. C. Phinney, our late librarian, and of William W. Grout, Ephraim Morris, Edward S. Isham and Benjamin F. Stevens, are starred upon our roll. These losses, I am glad to say, have in so far as numbers are concerned been more than doubly made good by the accessions of new members. The vacancies in our Board of Officers have been filled, and our Society enters upon its sixty-fourth year prepared to do con-

tinued good service, in its special field, for our State and the general public.

Biographical sketches of the deceased members above named, with one exception, were submitted at the business meeting of the Society on the 14th inst, a sketch of the life and work of Mr. Stevens being reserved for this occasion.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN STEVENS, A. M., L. H. D.

Though known to few of the people of our State outside of his native town, since he spent most of his life in England, Mr. Stevens was widely known and truly eminent in the great world of books and libraries and letters. In his particular department of American bibliography and documentary research, he was, at his death, the most distinguished American. In familiarity with the contents of the great libraries and archives of Europe, he was, I believe, second to no man living; and the service he has rendered during his busy life to the future historians and statesmen of America, is without parallel in its particular line. Such a life should not be passed over by this Society, without placing on record some mention of its chief events and some tribute to its worth.

Benjamin Franklin Stevens was born in Barnet, Caledonia County, February 19, 1833, being the tenth of the eleven children of the late Henry Stevens of that town, and his wife, Candace (Salter) Stevens.

He was of a family having many branches and distinguished members in America. His father, "the Vermont Antiquarian," was the Founder and first President of this Society, who devoted his life largely to the collection and preservation of documents, books, relics and letters relating

to the New Hampshire Grants, the Commonwealth of Vermont, and its leading citizens of former generations.

The family traces its lineage back to Cyprian Stevens, who came to America in the early days of the Massachusetts Colony, and to Colonel Thomas Stevens of Devonshire, England, who, during the reign of Charles I, removed to London, or to Deptford, near London. An ancestor in the direct line, Captain Phineas Stevens, has a place in Vermont history as the man who, in April 1747, with thirty men successfully defended Fort Number Four, at Charlestown, N. H. (once a part of Vermont) against a force of 300 or 400 French and Indians. Enos Stevens, the great-great grandfather of B. F. Stevens, was one of the original grantees of the town of Barnet. Dr. Phineas Stevens, son of the latter, was the first physician who practiced medicine in Barnet, and his son, Captain Enos, the grandfather of the subject of this sketch, was a prominent citizen of Barnet.

Mr. Stevens inherited the love of books and documents which made his father and his brother, Henry, famous. When but sixteen years of age he was assistant to Dr. Gustavus Loomis, the State Librarian, and before he was twenty-one he had been assistant clerk of the Vermont House of Representatives, and deputy Secretary of State, of Vermont. He entered the University of Vermont in the class of 1857, but left college before taking the degree of A. B. In 1860 he went to London, England, to join his elder brother, Henry, the noted bibliographer and author and purchasing agent of American libraries, whose name on the title page of most of his books is followed by the letters "G. M. B."—which used to puzzle his English readers, but to Vermonters were known to stand for "Green Mountain Boy." After several years with his brother Henry, he established himself in sim-

ilar business at No. 4 Trafalgar Square, London, and remained in that business and in the same place throughout his life. He was a publisher of Americana, as well as a bibliographer. He edited and published "The Campaign in Virginia, 1781," being a reprint of the pamphlets relating to the Clinton-Cornwallis controversy, in two volumes, and General Sir William Howe's orderly book, 1775-6. He was engaged for about ten years in collecting and producing photolithographic fac-similes of important historical manuscripts relating to America, from 1763 to 1783, preserved in the European archives, with translations and learned editorial notes—a work of immense labor and value. These fac-similes fill twenty-five folio volumes. Only 200 sets of them were printed, one of which is in the library of our State University. No fac-simile work of the kind and of equal magnitude was ever undertaken, and it alone would make Mr. Stevens famous.

Perhaps the most interesting of Mr. Stevens's publications is the "Codex Columbus," being "His (Columbus's) Own Book of Privileges" of 1502, being a reproduction of a beautiful and priceless manuscript on vellum, which was taken to France from Rome by Napoleon Bonaparte, and is preserved with most jealous care in the archives of the Foreign Office in Paris. Permission to photograph this was fortunately obtained by Mr. Stevens, and the reproduction, with an expanded text, transliteration, translation into English, historical introduction, and accompanying important documents, was published by Mr. Stevens in 1893, in an elegant folio of 349 pages, with illuminations and illustrations, and bound in antique binding of olive wood boards with anchor clasps. Of the 300 copies of this beautiful volume, the University library is the fortunate possessor of one.

Mr. Stevens's researches in American history, and gifts as an antiquarian and annotator, were recognized by the Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission of England—a body which has, I believe, no counterpart in this country—and he was employed by them to calendar—that is to index with abstracts of their contents—the papers of the Earl of Dartmouth, the English Secretary of State for the Colonies in the period preceding and up to the American Revolution and the nobleman from whom Dartmouth College took its name; also of the Headquarters Papers of Sir William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and Sir Guy Carleton, British commanders in America. These papers are now passing through the press in London. He compiled for the New York Public Library the unpublished manuscripts in the English archives relating to the provincial troops and American royalists in the War of the Revolution; and performed similar labors in transcribing and editing important records for the New Hampshire and Pennsylvania Historical Societies. For such tasks probably no man on the planet was so competent as Mr. Stevens.

His great life work, upon which he was engaged with a corps of able assistants for upwards of thirty years, was the Alphabetical and Chronological Catalogue of all the documents relating to America from 1763 to 1784, preserved in the archives of England, France, Spain and Holland. This stupendous and monumental work comprises over 150,000 entries. It is in three parts: first, the papers in the order in which they exist; second, an arrangement of them in the order of time; and third, an alphabetical index of them, by the names of the writers and receivers thereof. They make about 180 volumes of foolscap folio, beautifully engrossed on specially prepared, hand-made paper, and bound in full

morocco. Mrs. Stevens is now engaged in completing the manuscript of the Index, the material for the unfinished part of which was arranged by Mr. Stevens before his death, and many of the volumes are in the binder's hands. The value of this Catalogue and Index to historians, statesmen and scholars, cannot be overestimated; and it is to be hoped that it will before long find a place in the Congressional Library at Washington, or in some one of the great American libraries.

Mr. Stevens held for many years, and until his death, the office of United States Despatch Agent in London, through which office our government forwards its correspondence with its naval and other officers in Europe. This and his eminence as a bibliographer and authority on American documents and publications, brought him in contact with many distinguished men of England and America, and gave him a wide acquaintance with European celebrities. His familiarity with the contents of the vast library of the British Museum was phenomenal, and his knowledge of London, gained through his long residence and his interest in all historical and antiquarian lore, made him a most interesting companion and conversationalist. He was continually appealed to by enquirers from all over our country, to solve doubts or furnish information on historical points, and he responded to such inquiries with unfailing patience and courtesy. His great common sense and genial nature were often displayed when he was called on to settle controversies, personal or otherwise, arising in his wide circle of acquaintances; and many a seeming impossibility was overcome by his tact and kindness. He was always doing something for somebody and doing it wisely. He was withal, every hour of his life, a true American and a loyal son of Vermont,

always interested in the welfare of his native State, keeping himself informed in regard to its affairs, and showing his interest by many valuable gifts to this Society, to our State University, to the Barnet Free Library and to other Vermont institutions.

He was a member of the State Historical Societies of New Hampshire, Maryland and Minnesota and of the French Societe d' Histoire Diplomatique; a Fellow of the English Society of Antiquaries, of which less than a score of Americans have been members in the last hundred years; a member of the Society of Arts, of the Royal Historical Society, and of the Zoological Society of London. He was instrumental in the organization of the American Society in London; was its first President and its honorary treasurer up to his death. He was also the honorary secretary of the Columbia Lodge of Free Masons, of London. He was a member of the Grolier Club of New York, of the Noviomagus Club of London, composed of Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, number limited to fourteen; of the White Friars' Club, the oldest literary organization in England; and of the Savage and Urban Clubs of London. He was active in the service of the Carlyle House Memorial Trust which secured for the public the house which Thomas Carlyle occupied for so many years in London; was treasurer of the fund, and obtained a large share of the money raised for it.

The expressions of respect, sorrow and loss, from the various societies with which he was connected, and from distinguished scholars, diplomats and statesmen, which followed Mr. Stevens's death, would fill many pages.

At a meeting of the White Friars' Club in London, March 7th, 1902, Friar Richard Whiteing said of him:

"He served his country faithfully in a high official capacity. He held a post of great importance as dispatch agent; and public documents of the greatest importance constantly passed through his hands. In another department his business activities brought him into close relationship with the best minds of his country. He was a sort of living guide to the great treasures of our literature. He bought whole libraries at need with knowledge and with judgment. He was a keen competitor for choice editions, and sent many a precious folio to America which England could ill spare. Above all he made a liberal use of his fortune—still for the benefit of his own people."

Said Arthur Warren, an English scholar:

"Historical research was Mr. Stevens's chief delight. But he had another delight which matched it—the cultivation of friendly understanding between American and English folk. His name and word were honored, his knowledge and advice sought, by governments and bibliographers and students on both sides of the Atlantic. No man of our time had more friends; the traveller who went to any seat of learning in the Old World or the New World, with letters from Mr. Stevens, had all doors open to him. Yet he was a man of modest nature and simple living. He was a sturdy New Englander, one of the most lovable men that ever gripped the hand and said "God speed." He was not a courtier, a speech maker or a seeker of fame; he thought straight and he thought truth and lived it."

Hon. Joseph H. Choate, the American Ambassador at the Court of St. James, said in a published tribute:

"Mr. Stevens long ago became the highest living authority on the documentary history of the critical period

beginning at a date anterior to the first signs of breach between the thirteen colonies and the Mother Country, and extending till after the close of the war of separation. To illustrate his reputation as to all such knowledge—on the very day of his death, in answer to an application from the New York Historical Society for record evidence as to an important event in New York City while the British troops were there in 1776, I was referred by the War Office to him as “the most likely person to assist in the question raised,” which had baffled inquiry elsewhere. On social and personal grounds his loss is deeply lamented. He was the oldest American man of business of any prominence resident in London, and was one of the founders and first Chairman of the American Society, in whose useful work he took a deep interest. I desire to place on record my high appreciation of his fine character and of the great importance of his life’s work. His charming personal qualities, which made him dear to his associates, will long survive in their memory.”

Mr. Robert Noyes Fairbanks, a brother Vermonter residing abroad, said in a personal note:

“Next to his thoughtlessness of self certainly came his simplicity and straightforwardness of character. If a perplexing problem of vexed self-esteem or strained relations were brought to him to solve he simply cut the knot, or untied it so deftly that one wondered if it had ever been. His unfailing kindness, his endless resources on behalf of others, his tact and sound common sense were gifts so gracefully offered that they could not be refused. He seemed to have the rare gift of reaching the hearts of all men equally, without distinction of country, rank, or position. Although he left his home in Vermont some forty years ago,

it was most touching to me to find among the country people of his native village an affectionate remembrance which time did not erase. I doubt if any man were more successful in keeping a hold on all who had ever known him. These Vermont people, too, were much in his thoughts in his last years. I recall, with keen pleasure, a long afternoon he spent reading to me the diary of his grandfather's experiences, as he rode on horseback in the then wilderness of upper New England, and founded a home in the clearing he made in the forests. He often talked with me as to ways and means to supply the people of his native town with the opportunities for reading of which he had felt some lack in his boyhood, and ended by selecting and giving a large number of books to help found a library for them. In all his years of life here, he never allowed himself to lose the homely phrases of New England life, and I have before me the very cordial letter in which he said he was "real glad" to welcome a new-comer from his native State; and he never failed to ask me for news of his old home and the friends he had left. Surely in this unassuming simplicity and loyalty lay much of the secret of his hold on the hearts of those who knew him."

The following resolutions were passed by Societies of which Mr. Stevens was a member:

AMERICAN SOCIETY IN LONDON.

March 7th, 1902.

WHEREAS, We have learned with deep regret of the death of Benjamin Franklin Stevens, Chairman of this Society during the first year of its existence, and subsequently its Honorary Treasurer, be it

Resolved, That we desire to place on record our feeling of personal bereavement in the loss of our first chairman, to whom the Society is deeply indebted for the wise forethought and skill with which at the outset of its career he managed its affairs.

We deplore the death of a colleague who, while always loyal to his native land, was a devoted friend to the country in which the greater part of his life was passed, and whose constant care was the promotion of friendship between the people of the two countries. We mourn the absence of a cherished friend and a companion of scholarly learning, of genuine sympathies, of gentle kindness and of never failing helpfulness.

Resolved, That these Resolutions be placed upon the Minutes of the Society, and that a copy be transmitted to the widow with an expression of sympathy in our mutual sorrow.

(Signed on behalf of the American Society in London.)

JOHN MORGAN RICHARDS,
Chairman.

F. C. VAN DUZER,
Hon. Secretary.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

24 March, 1902.

At the meeting of the Council of the Royal Historical Society on the 20th inst., I had the painful duty of reporting the death of Mr. B. F. Stevens, a Fellow of the Society and for many years a member of its Council. The very valuable work performed by Mr. Stevens in connection with the Committees of the Council is well known to most of the present members, and the personal regard in which he was held by all who were acquainted with him has made his loss severely felt.

The Secretary was instructed to convey to Mr. Stevens' family the assurance of the deep regret and sympathy of the Council, which has been recorded also in the form of a Resolution upon the Minutes.

HUBERT HALL,
Director and Hon. Secretary.

THE CARLYLE'S HOUSE MEMORIAL TRUST.

LONDON, 24th March 1902.

At a Meeting of the Committee of Management held on Friday last, Mr. G. K. Fortescue in the Chair, it was moved by the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Blunt, and resolved:—"That this Committee places on record its sense of the great loss sustained by it and by the Trust in the death of Mr. B. F. Stevens, who as treasurer of the original fund for the purchase of Carlyle's House, rendered signal service to the Committee charged with the raising of the fund, and who on becoming a member of the Committee of Management of the Trust shortly after its inception in 1895, had given unremitting and valuable attention to the business of the Trust until laid aside by illness."

GEORGE L. LUMSDEN,
Secretary.

Similar tributes, not a few, might be added.

Mr. Stevens married, in January, 1865, Miss Charlotte Whittingham, daughter of Charles Whittingham of the Chiswick Press, and of the noted family of English printers. They had no children. He received the rarely granted degree of Doctor of Letters from the University of Vermont in 1899 and the degree of Master of Arts from Dartmouth College in 1901.

During the last year of his life, Mr. Stevens suffered much from an incurable disease borne by him with the utmost fortitude and patience. His mind remained clear, and he worked to the last. He passed away March 5, 1902, at his home, "The Sheaves" on Surbiton Hill in the outskirts of London, and was laid to rest in Kensal Green Cemetery, March 10th, the American ambassador and his staff, and many representatives of the British Museum, and of different English societies, and prominent Americans in London, being in attendance.

We see that here was no ordinary man. He was on the contrary emphatically a man of mark, of superior powers, of devouring industry, of large heart, of great usefulness, of noble nature. He did not press into public view in his life; but his fame will follow him; and his name will rank in coming years, among those of the most distinguished scholars, authors and citizens who have conferred honor on our Green Mountain State.

The President then introduced Dr. David Sherwood Kellogg of Plattsburgh, N. Y., as a loyal son of Vermont, who had devoted much study to the history of the Champlain Valley. Dr. Kellogg then read a valuable paper on

"Early Mention of Some Events and Places in the Valley of Lake Champlain." It was listened to with interest and cordially applauded at its close.

The President next introduced Hon. Robert Dewey Benedict, of New York, as the President of the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Society of Vermonters, recent President of the New England Society of that city, President of the Maritime Law Association of the United States, and holder of other public offices of honor and trust. Mr. Benedict then read a paper on Ethan Allen's use of language, which commanded unbroken attention and was frequently interrupted by applause.

At the close of Mr. Benedict's paper the following resolutions were offered:

By the Hon. W. B. C. Stickney:

Resolved, That the Vermont Historical Society does hereby express to Dr. David S. Kellogg, of Plattsburg, N. Y., its sincere thanks for his able address upon "Early Mention of Events and Places in Lake Champlain Valley," and that Dr. Kellogg be requested to supply the Society with a copy of said address for publication in its annual transactions.

By Hon. F. A. Howland:

Resolved, That the Vermont Historical Society express to Hon. Robert D. Benedict its sincere appreciation of his scholarly and interesting address on "Ethan Allen's Use of Language," and request him to supply a copy of his paper for the purpose of its publication in the Proceedings of the Society.

By Hon. Hiram A. Carleton:

Resolved, That the President of the Society appoint a committee of two members to secure the necessary resolution from the Legislature, now in session, for the publication of the Proceedings of the Society, including the papers of Hon. Robert D. Benedict and Dr. David S. Kellogg.

The President appointed as such committee Mr. Carleton and Mr. De Boer.

On motion of the Secretary the following gentlemen were duly elected active members of the Society: Frank

Plumley, Northfield; James W. Brock, Montpelier; William Erba Ellis, Northfield; Henry L. Sheldon, Middlebury; John L. Alger, Johnson; Clarence L. Smith, Burlington; George Henry Perkins, Burlington; Zed S. Stanton, Roxbury; Richard H. Preble, Shoreham; W. H. Taylor, Hardwick; John G. Sargent, Ludlow; W. D. Stewart, Bakersfield; Philip Leavenworth, Castleton. George F. Bixby, of Plattsburgh, N. Y., was elected as a corresponding member.

On motion of Mr. Carleton it was voted to permit Mr. Arthur F. Stone of St. Johnsbury to withdraw his resignation as an active member of the Society.

The Society then adjourned, subject to the call of the President and Secretary.

JOSEPH AREND DE BOER,
Recording Secretary.

Early Mention of some Events
and Places in the
Valley of Lake Champlain.

A Paper Read before the Vermont Historical
Society

BY

DAVID SHERWOOD KELLOGG, M. D.

In the Hall of the House of Representatives

October 30, 1902

50-51-52

53

EARLY MENTION OF EVENTS AND PLACES IN THE CHAMPLAIN VALLEY

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This paper consists of three parts.

I

The origin of place names, and the reason for them, are always matters of interest. Sometimes we may know both, often only one, and sometimes neither. Frequently a dead and forgotten old resident survives in the name of the hill he built his house on, or of the pond or brook by the side of which he lived, or in the property he once owned, or even in some event in which he was a prominent actor. Thus, the Brighams of Essex, in *Brigham Hill*; the Burlings, in *Burlington*; Count Fredenburgh, in *Fredenburgh Falls* and M. Chasy, nephew of Tracy, in *Chazy*, have a kind of immortality. The name of Samuel Champlain is preserved not only in the *Lake* which is called after him, but in the *River Champlain*, the *Town Champlain*, the *Village Champlain*; and who can give the number of Champlain hotels and streets, in the cities and towns and villages of the United States and of the British Provinces north of us? Also it is interesting that many localities in our very midst have had names in common use for a time, which, later, are lost in oblivion.

For years I have noted place-names and their reputed origin, both curious and suggestive, in our locality; and am constantly adding to them. Quite recently a man in our city spoke of *Happy Hill*, and another, in a neighboring

town, of *Pirate's Hollow*. Thus I added two to my list, and inquiry revealed their origin. I can give, approximately, the beginning of, and reason for, *Providence Island*, *Gougeville*, *Molasses Corner*, *North and South Hero*, *Johnnycake Street* and *North Africa*. Even *The Devil's Half Acre* has quite a known history. But I greatly desire information concerning *Whig Hollow*, *Cumberland Head*, *Beartown*, *Valcour*, *Suckertown*, *The Lost Nation*, and many others.

On the western border of Lake Champlain, scarce five miles from its outlet into the Richelieu river, in the town of Champlain, opposite the lower end of Isle La Motte, is a famous headland called *Point au Fer*, freely rendered into English *Point of Iron—Iron Point*. But its common and only name now is the French *Point au Fer*. No iron is found there, and there is nothing suggestive of the hardness of iron in its shape, or in the ruggedness of its shores. Hadden, Riedesel, Phillips and many others called it *Point au Fer* only, and I think it proper to consider this to be its real name, in spite of the fact that on a map issued about 1748, from surveys made in 1732, it is called *Point au Feu*, or, in English, *Point of Fire—Fire Point*. It may be that the transcribers mistook the final *r* for *u*, an easy mistake when we consider the similarity between *r* and *u* as often found in old manuscripts.

I think I have chanced on the origin of and reason for this place name. I will present my evidence to you and hope you will agree with me, or disagree, if you have reason to the contrary.

This evidence is found in and based upon, an account in volume 48, pages 99-107, of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," issued by the Burrows Brothers Company, of Cleveland, Ohio, and edited by Reuben Gold-

thwaites, secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society. This volume, 48, came out in July, 1899. The original was the Relation of 1662-63, written by Father Jerome Lalemant, and contains a graphic account of a fierce fight between some Algonquins and a band of Iroquois returning from a raid on Montreal.

Father Lalemant says:

"The Algonquins living at Sillery, after passing the winter in innocence and piety, resolved, towards spring, to go and wage a petty warfare. They were only forty, but their courage exceeded their number. Arriving at the Richelieu Islands without discovering any foe, they entered the river of the same name and directed their course to Lake Champlain, where they lay in ambush. Scarcely had they arrived there when those victors who had dealt their blow at Montreal, and were conducting their poor Frenchmen in triumph, were discovered by our Algonquins, who followed them with their eyes and noted their camping spot. Our Christian soldiers, under cover of the night, stealthily advanced and surrounded the place where the enemy were sleeping, in readiness to attack them at the first dawn of day. But as it is very difficult to walk in the night time without making a noise, or by hitting some branch, one of the Iroquois chiefs was awakened in some way or other. He was a brave man named *Garistatsia* ("the Iron"), vigilant and greatly renowned for his exploits performed against us and against our savages. The chief of the Algonquins, perceiving that the leader of the Iroquois was this *Garistatsia*—or in French *Le Fer*, so famous and renowned by the many disasters that have so often made us mingle our tears with our blood, made straight at him and by a hatchet stroke on the head, forced *Garistatsia* to fall to the ground, where his cour-

age forbade him to acknowledge himself vanquished, and he yielded the victory after losing his life. Ten of the enemy remained dead on the spot, while three were taken alive, and the rest escaped, completely covered with wounds."

This was a terrific engagement, though short. It evidently occurred on the west shore of Lake Champlain, between a band of Iroquois raiders returning over land from Montreal and a band of Algonquins, who, coming up the Richelieu, had "scarcely arrived" at Lake Champlain. These latter proceeded to *surround* the Iroquois. How much more easily surrounded on a point of land than on a continuous shore! The leader of the Iroquois "was famous and renowned." He had "*so often made us*" i. e. both French and Algonquin, "*mingle our tears with our blood!*" So well known was he that the leader of the Algonquins, even in the dark, "*made straight at him*"—in order to rid the country of this distinguished enemy.

Therefore, I think it not unreasonable to claim that this battle, in the year 1663, was fought on the cape on the west border of Lake Champlain opposite the lower portion of Isle La Motte, known now and for so many years as *Point Au Fer*, and that the cape received its appellation from that of the mighty Iroquois chief killed there—"Garistatsia, or in French *Le Fer*."

II

The matter of prehistoric occupation of the Valley of Lake Champlain has received considerable attention during the last twenty-five years. Before that time, historians would refer to Champlain's vague statements concerning the enemies of his Algonquin allies residing around the mountains in the east and south, and then state that but

few vestiges remained of ancient occupation. But later researches have revealed the fact that this valley was once quite thickly populated. I know of at least forty-five dwelling sites, the greater portion of which I have located and visited. The larger part of these are on, or near, the Lake itself; but there are, also, many on the rivers and smaller streams and lakes; and some at a distance from any even moderately large body of water. The evidence of former dwelling sites consists of stone implements and weapons, and chippings scattered over small areas—say of half an acre or more. One such site exists on the River Richelieu, in the Parish of St. Valentine, near Isle aux Noix, twelve miles below Rouses Point. From this place alone I have obtained several hundred stone implements and weapons, some of them very fine.

Another is at the mouth of the Big Chazy River, near Point au Fer. It was October 5, 1881, that I first discovered this dwelling site, and in two hours I picked up about thirty stone axes and many chipped flints; and had not the night come on, I should have obtained at least twice as many at that visit. To an ardent collector, so many things almost beseeching to be gathered furnished an experience not readily forgotten. I presume that any of you would have done as I did. You would have taken off your shoes and stockings, and found with your feet, stone axes in the clay mud of the bottom, and picked them out with your hands; and would have wished the sun to stand still at least an hour, in order that you might obtain more.

Another place is on a high sand plain in the town of Ausable, New York. Here the ground is white with quartzite chippings over many acres, though this locality has furnished but few perfect implements.

From Colchester Point upon the Ouinooski river, certainly as far as Williston, the soil abounds in celts, chippings and wrought flints. But to locate and describe all the *known* sites would require far too much time, and I presume the half of them have not been discovered.

However, in many particulars, the most important pre-historic dwelling place in our Valley is that on the shore of Cumberland Bay, partly within the present limits of the City of Plattsburgh. Here was a sand ridge a mile long, from twenty to forty rods wide, fifteen to twenty-five feet high, having a sluggish stream abounding in fish on its landward side, and the wide bay opening out into the broad lake, on the other. The greyish white sand between the pines on the ridge and the waters of the Bay, was a conspicuous object for miles out on the lake. About thirty-five years ago some of the pines were cut off, and the wind made openings through and through the ridge at right angles to the axis of its length. Then it was seen that here was once a great village, covering the whole ridge. Below the old surfaces were vast quantities of flint chippings, arrow and spear points, axes, pottery, fire-places, kitchen middens, and other evidences of ancient occupation. From this site alone, I have secured fragments of hundreds of edge pieces of different jars of pottery, and thousands of wrought implements of stone.

In our early researches, where the sand had not been blown out down to the level of the lake, there were seen heaps of cobble stones, arranged in some order, each perhaps consisting of a bushel or more of sand stones that had been heated by fire. These heaps rested in sand and ashes blackened by charcoal, but never, in a single instance

did they contain flints, wrought stones or pottery. In other words, these were not kitchen middens.

For years, I supposed this place to have been prehistoric, as it mostly was. But in 1885, The Prince Society, of Boston, in its invaluable series of historical publications, printed "Radisson's Voyages." Now, Peter Esprit Radisson was a Frenchman of roving disposition, who came from France to Canada in 1651. He made several "voyages," as he calls them, going through Lake Champlain to the Iroquois country; and again to Lake Huron and Lake Superior; and, I believe, overland to Hudson's Bay, in his various journeyings. But he did what we wish more of those early adventurers had done. He left a written account of his experiences. This record was made partly in French and partly in English and is very full of interest. In the year 1652, he was out hunting on the St. Lawrence River, one day, was made prisoner and taken up the Richelieu, through Lake Champlain and thence to the country of the Iroquois. I quote from his "Relation of My Voyage being in Bondage in the hands of the Irokoits." After being captured (and his captivity seems to have been a pleasant one from beginning to end), he says: "Midday wee came to the River of Richelieu, where we weare not farr gone, but met a new gang of their people in cottages" (village No. 1). After a day and a night, he continues: "Our journey was indifferent good without any delay, w'ch caused us to arrive in a good and pleasant harbour. It was on the side of the sand where our people had any paine scarce to erect their cottages, being that it was a place they had sejournd at before." (Village No. 2.) The next day, he says: "At 3 of the clock in the afternoon we came to a rappid streame, where we were forced to land and carry our Equip-

ages and boats through a dangerous place. Wee had not any encounter that day. Att night where we found cottages ready made (village No. 3), there I cutt wood with all dilligence. The morning early following, we marched wth making great noise, or singing as accustomed. Sejourning awhile, we came to a lake 6 leagues wide, about it a very pleasant country, imbellished with great forests. * * * * We arrived to a fine sandy bancke, where not long before Cabbanes weare erected and places made where Prisoners weare tyed." (village No. 4).

"In this place our wild people sweated after the maner following: first heated stones till they were redd as fire, then they made a lantherne with small sticks, then stoaring the place with deale trees, saving a place in the middle, whereinto they put the stoanes, and covered the place with small covers, then striped themselves naked, went into it. They made a noise as if ye devil weare there; after they being there for an hour they came out of the watter. I thought verily they weare incensed. It is their usual custom. * * * * In the night they heard some shooting, which made them embark themselves speedily. In the meanwhile they made me lay downe whilst they rowed very hard. I slept securely till morning, when I found meselfe in high rushes. There they stayed without noise."

Now, this "rappid streame" was the Chambly Rapids.

This 3d village, in my opinion, was that site below Isle Aux Noix, in the parish of St. Valentine, which I have spoken of. Villages No. 1 and No. 2 I have never visited. The lake "imbellished with great forests," was Champlain. The "fine sandy bancke, where not long before cabbanes weare erected," was, I feel certain, this great dwelling place on Cumberland Bay. The heaps of fire

stones that I have mentioned could easily have been those made use of by "our wild people" when they "sweated after the maner following:" and where Radisson found himself in "high rushes" the morning after, may have been at the mouth of the Ausable; or of the Lamoille, or of the Qui-nooski.

III.

For some time I have endeavored to make an annual visit to Fort Ticonderoga and its neighborhood. September, October and November, before the ground freezes, when the lake is usually the lowest, are the best portions of the year for searching there. On the shores between high and low water marks around the Ticonderoga promontory; at Wright's Point and on the Orwell shore opposite, the earth is black with flints. These are arrow and spear heads, knives, hammer stones and immense quantities of flakes. But few of the implements are perfect. I account for this condition because of the great numbers of soldiers there in the old wars. As you know, it was their practice to select the best arrow and spear heads and break them into pieces suitable for their flintlocks. But the native flint exists in great abundance in the limestone rocks of the locality; and so it was that, for centuries, the Indians resorted to this region, lived there and made weapons and implements for their own use, and for traffic with other savages passing by. I have obtained 2500 chipped stone implements from these shores alone. One day in November, 1896, two of us left Plattsburg by train at 8.30 a. m., reached Fort Ticonderoga at 10.30, picked up 575 wrought flints, and returning, got home at 6.15 the same evening. So, while I have considered that

the great dwelling site in Plattsburgh was the most important for the manufacturing of pottery, and probably had the largest population of any village in the valley, yet certainly the Ticonderoga region surpassed it in the making of chipped implements. On this day of which I speak, my companion stopped on Mount Independence, while I pushed over to the Orwell shore, perhaps a hundred rods away. And, by the way, let me say that the historic ruins on Mount Independence are nearly as interesting as those on the Ticonderoga promontory. I could not see the gentleman on the mountain because of the trees, but when I called out to him, not only his reply came to me, but my voice echoed back first, so quickly, so distinctly and with such force as to startle me. It was uncanny.

Turning again to the Jesuit Relations, this time to Volume 51, pages 179-183; in the Relation of 1667-68, written by Francis Mercier, we find an account of the experiences of Fathers Fremin, Pierron and Bruyas, three Jesuits, on the way to the Iroquois country. It was one of these fathers who wrote from Ste. Anne, Isle La Motte, August 12, 1667, the interesting letter, a translation of which was printed in the Burlington Free Press of August 22, 1902.

Father Mercier says: "The Fathers Fremin, Pierron and Bruyas having set out to go to the lower Iroquois—and having been detained for a long time in Fort Sainte Anne at the entrance to Lake Champlain * * * left the fort at last." Then he quotes from their journal: "About four o'clock in the afternoon we embarked to go and take shelter at a league distance from the last fort of the French—which is that of Sainte Anne * * We gaily crossed this entire great lake, which is already too renowned by reason of the shipwreck of several of our Frenchmen, and, quite recently,

by that of *Sieur Corlart*, commandant of a hamlet of the Dutch near *Agnie*, who, on his way to *Quebec* for the purpose of negotiating some important affairs, was drowned while crossing a large bay, where he was surprised by a storm. Arriving within three quarters of a league of the Falls by which *Lake St. Sacrement* empties, we all halted without knowing why, until we saw our savages at the water side gathering up flints, which were almost all cut into shape. We did not at that time reflect upon this, but have since learned the meaning of the mystery, for our *Iroquois* told us that they never fail to halt at this place to pay homage to a race of invisible men who dwell there at the bottom of the lake. These beings occupy themselves in preparing flints, nearly all cut, for the passers by, provided the latter pay their respects to them by giving them tobacco. If they give these beings much of it, the latter give them a liberal supply of these stones. These water men travel in canoes, as do the *Iroquois*; and when their great captain proceeds to throw himself into the water to enter his palace, he makes so loud a noise that he fills with fear the minds of these who have no knowledge of this great spirit and of these little men. * * * The occasion of this ridiculous story is the fact that the lake in reality is often agitated by very frightful tempests, which cause fearful waves, and when the wind comes from the direction of the lake, it drives on the beach quantities of stones which are hard, and capable of striking fire."

Now, this place where the fathers "sheltered themselves at a league's distance" from *Fort Sainte Anne*, may have been *Cumberland Head*. The bay in which "*Sieur Corlart*" was drowned has been considered to be *Willsborough Bay*. Allow me to state that this *Arendt Van Curler* ("*Sieur Cor-*

lart") came to his death in this very year, 1667, in which these Jesuits saw the savages at the water side gathering up flints." So the Indians 235 years ago had an *established* custom of picking up flint implements around Ticonderoga; the same practice that I have indulged in, perhaps quite as successfully without having to offer tobacco to a race of invisible men; and the "loud noises" which their "great captain" made when he proceeded to throw himself into the water to enter his palace and "which filled with fear the minds of those who have no knowledge of this Great Spirit and of these little men," may have been an echo, like that marvelous one which came back to me from Mount Independence, on that November day, so loud and distinct as to seem uncanny.

I have thus grouped these three different parts although they may not be homogeneous. In some degree they unite the present with the early historic and prehistoric past of the Champlain Valley. I understand that the United States Government is soon to issue a large volume of Place Names, and such work is highly to be commended. What an immense number our own localities could furnish to be thus preserved!

In the early *Voyages; Journals; Relations* and *Letters*, are references to many known locations. But, for instance, should Radisson, or the Jesuit Relations or even Hadden, go to new editions during the next half century, the present notes, though copious, would seem meagre and inadequate, compared with what should then appear.

Concerning matters prehistoric, I hope I have said enough to reveal what a vast field for research lies almost untouched at our very doors.

ETHAN ALLEN'S USE OF LANGUAGE

An Address delivered before the Vermont
Historical Society

BY

Robert Dewey Benedict, LL. D.

In the Hall of the House of Representatives

October 30, 1902

65-66

ETHAN ALLEN'S USE OF LANGUAGE.

Mr. President and Members of the Vermont Historical Society:

Four years ago you listened in this Hall to an admirable discourse by Hon. E. S. Isham, on Ethan Allen. That was a Study of Civic Authority. It portrayed the circumstances under which the people of the New Hampshire Grants declared and maintained Vermont to be an Independent State; it discussed the source and growth of that authority of the people which justified that declaration of statehood and independence,—and it finely set forth the powerful influence which was exerted by Ethan Allen in that great conflict. I should hardly have ventured to speak to you so soon after Mr. Isham's discourse, if I had not considered that anything touching Ethan Allen is of interest to Vermonters, and that I did not seek to add anything to that discussion. What I propose to say relates to the personality of Ethan Allen,—to the inquiry, What manner of man was he?

Ethan Allen took up his residence in the New Hampshire Grants in 1769. In 1775, six years after, he was taken prisoner by the British at Montreal. During those six years he had come so rapidly to the front as to be one of the most, if not the most, prominent figure within the Grants. He made a mark across the history of Vermont during those six years so broad and deep as to be indelible. No man of common-place qualities could, in that troublous time, have sprung so rapidly into leadership among such a peo-

ple. I am sure that if I could present to you in this assemblage a truthful portrait of his bodily form, your eyes would gaze upon it with intensest interest. But no portrait of him exists, and the statues of him which stand on his monument in Burlington and in the Capitol at Washington and in front of this building, do not claim to be presentations of Ethan Allen, but of an artist's idea of what Ethan Allen should have been, assisted by family resemblances and memory. Yet we know that these imaginings are at least so far correct in that they clothe him, as Bulwer says:

"With that vast bulk of chest and limb, assigned
So oft to men who subjugate their kind.
So sturdy Cromwell pushed broad-shouldered on;
So burly Luther breasted Babylon."

But without any "counterfeit presentment" of him on which we might gaze, seeking to trace in the strong lineaments the character of the spirit which animated them, we can learn something of what manner of man he was. For a man's body is not *the man*. When the breath of life was inbreathed, man became "a living soul." And, if you would know what is the living soul of a man, you must search for the thoughts and feelings by which he was animated. "As a man thinketh, so is he." And we can judge something of what the man is, not only by considering his thought, but by considering also the manner in which he expresses his thought. For, as Fenelon truly said: "A man's style is nearly as much a part of him as his physiognomy, or his figure, or the throbbing of his pulse." So let us consider for a little the thought of Ethan Allen, and the style in which he expressed his thought.

B. H. Hall, in his History of Eastern Vermont, has no better words to use in speaking of Allen's mode of expres-

sion, than "bombast," "effrontery," "boasting and rhodomontade." Even Williams in his History of Vermont, says he was "a very indifferent writer." Beckley, another historian of Vermont, says he was "without mental culture," and speaks of his "plain, unadorned style." And Zadock Thompson, in his History of Vermont, says that "Allen's pamphlets are unworthy of notice as literary productions."

But Washington wrote of him, "There is an original something about him that commands admiration." And Alexander Graydon, of Pennsylvania, in his admirable Memoirs of the Revolutionary Times, says of him: "I have seldom met a man possessed in my opinion of a stronger mind, or whose mode of expression was more vehement and oratorical. His style was a singular compound of local barbarisms, scriptural phrases and oriental wildness; and though unclassic and sometimes ungrammatical, it was highly animated and forcible."

Let us consider then whether the words of Washington and Graydon, who knew the man, are to be accepted rather than those of these later writers. Let us examine some of the words that Ethan Allen wrote and said, and consider not only the thought which they conveyed, but the style—the frame of words in which the thought was clothed. Perhaps we can see in them some of the qualities which were the grounds of his accepted leadership.

His letters, the addresses, proclamations and other controversial papers which he wrote during the contest between Vermont and New York, his Narrative of his Captivity, and his theological work called "Reason, the Only Oracle of Man," together with some traditional speeches, furnish us material in such abundance that selection is difficult.

We may concede that he was not a man of literary culture. He writes of himself, "I was deficient in education, and had to acquire the knowledge of grammar and language, as well as the art of reasoning, principally from a studious application to it." And he asks the reader of his Narrative to excuse any inaccuracies in the performance itself, "as the author has unfortunately missed a liberal education." The marks of this deficiency are frequent. He says: "In *them* laws, they have exhibited their genuine pictures." He writes in his letter to the Provincial Assembly of New York: "I wish to God America would at this critical juncture exert herself, *agreeable* to the indignity offered her by a tyrannical ministry." He wrote "agreeable to" where he meant "in proportion to."

So, in describing the contest between New York and the people of the Grants, he says that Gov. Tryon gave orders to the militia to assist the Sheriff, "the inhabitants being thus drove to the extremity of either quitting their possessions or resisting the Sheriff and his posse. In this state of desperacy, they put on fortitude and chose the latter expedient."

But we care very little about Ethan Allen's blunders in grammar and language. They never were such as to affect in the least the clearness of his meaning, and, though he should have written "being driven" instead of "being drove," and though there is no such English word as "desperacy," the picture of the people reduced to desperation and "putting on fortitude," is none the less clear and distinct.

There is little doubt that this very lack of correctness and polish in his style was an element of his success among the people of the Grants, for they were not a highly edu-

cated people. They were pioneers in a wilderness where bears were a great deal more frequent than college graduates. In 1784 there were only nine of the latter in the whole State, outside of the ranks of the clergy. And this lack of education, which Ethan Allen laments, may very well have been a bond of sympathy between him and the people, who were themselves deficient in the same way. It may have made his leadership more easy.

Another element of his leadership which should be borne in mind, is that he was a man of truthfulness and honor. His word sought always to be a real expression of the man. And this inspired confidence. His berating in open court his lawyer—who, in a suit against him upon a note, had, for the sake of getting time, put in a denial of the making of the note—telling the lawyer that he would have no such plea put in, because he had made the note, and only wanted time in which to pay it, was a proof of devotion to truth such as it is rare to meet. And Alexander Graydon, who was with him as a prisoner to the British in New York, tells this story. Several American officers were prisoners there on parole, having, of course, the liberty to be at large on their promise not to escape. Some of them got into an altercation, which led to their being arrested by the provost guard, and they were put in close confinement for three weeks and then let out. They were excessively angry at this treatment and submitted to a board of their fellow officers the question whether this was not such a violation of the agreement of parole that in consequence of it they would be justified in making their escape. Ethan Allen was one of the board, and his decision, which became the decision of the board, was the honorable one that the officers had had the right to escape from

their *close confinement*, notwithstanding their parole; but that now the case was altered, and that, although no new parole had been given, yet the obligation of the former one should be considered as returning on their enlargement, and that they were under the same restraint in point of honor as they had been before their commitment. And so, when Ethan Allen in his Narrative of his Captivity wrote, "I have made truth my invariable guide, and stake my honor on the truth of the facts," it was no light statement, but one which carried confidence. And, in considering even his style and expression, we always should keep in view that foundation of truth and honor, upon which his word rested.

He was a man familiar with the Scriptures, especially of the Old Testament, and his quotations from them or adaptations of their words, were frequent, pertinent and forcible. He supplements his declaration of the determination of the people of the Grants to keep their lands until the controversy with New York should be decided by the King, by quoting from the message of Jephtha to the King of the Children of Ammon, "Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh thy God giveth thee to possess?" And he adds, "So will we possess that which the Lord our God (and King) giveth us to possess."

In his indignation against the land jobbers of New York and their unrighteous efforts to deprive the men of the Grants of the lands which they had bought and paid for, he writes that those men, who were a "jesuitical and cowardly junto of schemers, not inured to danger, hardship or the horrors of war, durst not fight for their own claim—their accustomed way of carrying points being to deceive, cheat and overreach the community of their species, under pretext

of law, justice and good government." And then there came up before his mind the picture of the false prophet who made horns of iron to show King Ahab how he should push the Syrians to destruction, and he added: "These are their horns of iron, and with them do they push."

Another notable use of Scripture by him was in what may be called the notice of appeal from the judgment of the New York court in the first ejectment suit, in which that court had decided that New Hampshire had no power to grant land west of the Connecticut. After that decision, Attorney General Kempe, in whose client's favor the judgment had been rendered, came to Allen, who had acted as the agent of the defendant in the case, and urged him to go home and advise the people to make the best terms with the New York land owners that they could, "because," as he said, "might often makes right."

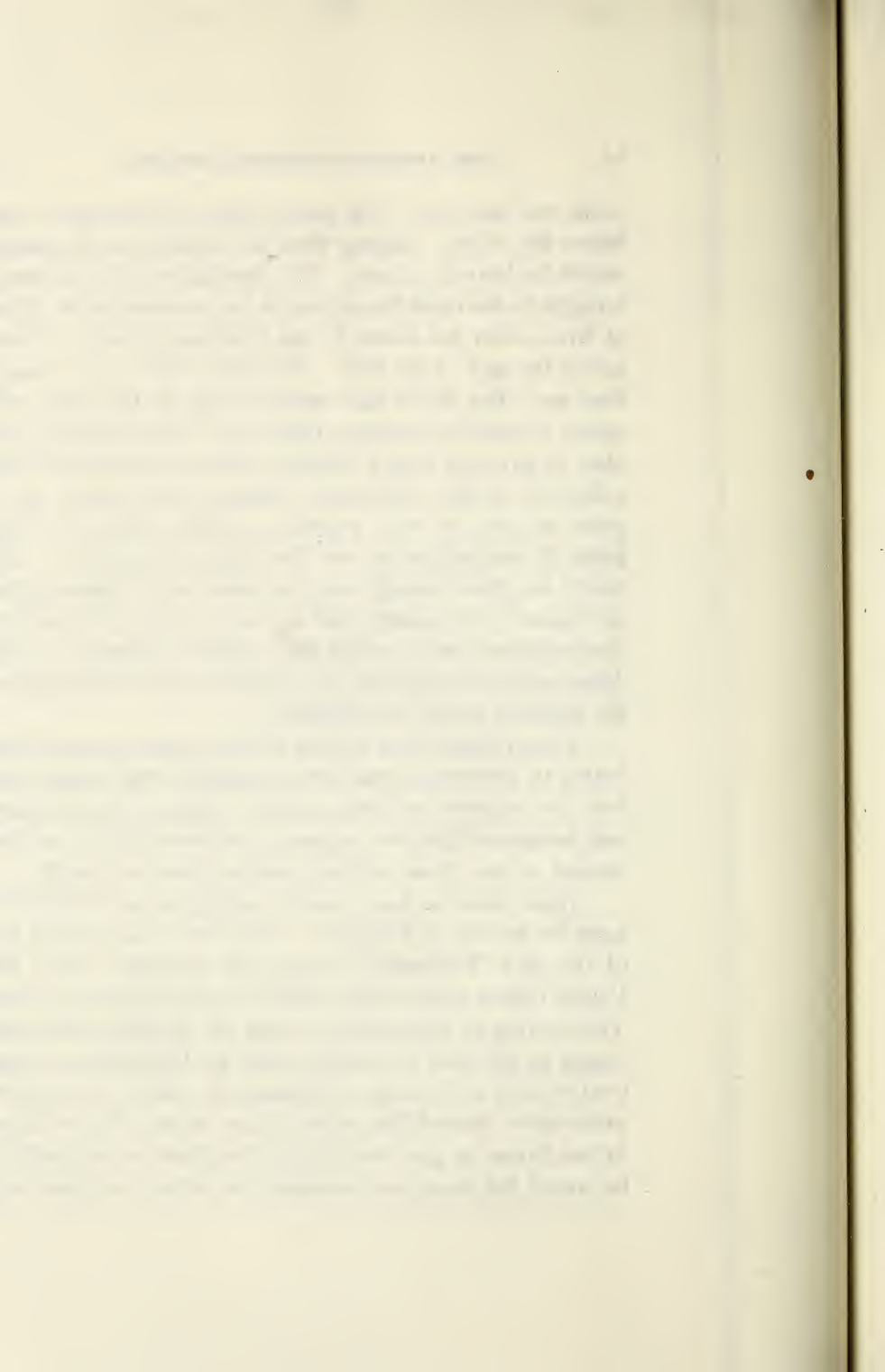
Benton, in his excellent book called "Vermont Settlers and New York Land Speculators," says that that interview was at a public house; speaks of "the *bibulous refreshments*" which would be "naturally expected" on such an occasion, and says "Allen's reply seems very much to have the appearance of being more maudlin than heroic." I cannot agree with him. I do not believe that Ethan Allen, after a legal defeat, whose heavy results for the men of the Grants, if that defeat was accepted, he could not have failed to appreciate, was in any frame of mind which would have lent itself to a carouse, especially with the men who had brought about that very evil.

I have no doubt that his determination had already been made to appeal to arms against the unjust judgment. The inequalities between the parties there in Albany he

could not but feel. The green hills of Bennington rose before his vision. Among them the position of the parties would be bravely altered. His familiarity with Scripture brought to his mind the advice of the servants of the King of Syria, after his defeat by the Children of Israel, "Their god is the god of the hills. Therefore, they were stronger than we. But let us fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they,"—and adapting that idea, he gave the King's Attorney notice of appeal from the judgment in the well-known sentence—too laconic, as it seems to me, to have anything *mandlin* about it: "The gods of the valleys are not the gods of the hills." The words are plain enough now, but were very enigmatical to the hearer, who possibly did not at the moment recall the Syrian episode, as he asked Allen what he meant, to which Allen only answered that, if he would come to Bennington, the meaning would be explained.

I can imagine how Kempe and his clients puzzled their brains to determine what their antagonist had meant, and how the mystery of those words clung to the memory. and, because of that very mystery, the flower of their success seemed to have been suddenly shaken from the bough.

Allen seems to have resorted mainly to the Old Testament for his use of Scripture. But there is one notable use of the New Testament, as you will remember, when the British Officer came to him, while he was a prisoner in New York, trying to induce him to enter the British service, and saying to him that he would receive for his services a large tract of land in Vermont or Connecticut. Allen, refusing the proposition, likened that offer of land to the offer by Satan to the Savior to give him all the kingdoms of the earth if he would fall down and worship him, when, as Allen said,



"the damned soul had not one foot of land on earth." But this reference is not to any word of Christ, but to the word of Satan. I do not recall any reference to the use of any words of Christ in all his references to Scripture, outside of his "Reason the only Oracle of Man." The Old Testament history had more resemblance to the times in which he was living; and the language of the Old Testament furnished more appropriate expression for his stormy spirit.

There was a quaintness about Allen's use of words and figures of speech which often makes them very vivid.

When he was taken prisoner at Montreal he was brought before the English General Prescott. Allen's narrative tells us: "He asked me my name, which I told him. He then asked me whether I was that Col. Allen who took Ticonderoga. I told him I was the very man. Then he shook his cane over my head, calling me many hard names, among which he frequently used the word rebel. * * * I told him he would do well not to cane me, for I was not accustomed to it, and shook my fist at him, telling him that was the *beetle of mortality* for him if he offered to strike." The Englishman probably had seen enough logs split with a beetle and wedges, to recognize the appropriateness of the figure of a beetle as descriptive of Allen's heavy fist; and when it was described as a "beetle of mortality" he recognized that it was a weapon which he would do well not to meet.

The affidavit of Benjamin Hough, relating the visit of the Bennington Mob, as he called Allen and his men, to Durham, says that "Allen used many curses and imprecations on the people of New York, by the name of Yorkers, and said the day of judgment was come when every man should be judged according to his works;" and that, when

Benjamin Spencer was brought before their judgment-seat, Allen made charges against him, one of which was that he had been "*cuddling* with the New Yorkers."

The suggestive phrase, in which all unnamed terrors were wrapped up in one single word, when the Convention of the Vermonters ordered that all civil and military officers in the New Hampshire Grants who had acted under the authority of New York should suspend their functions "on the pain of being *viewed*," and the well-known phrase describing the punishment of stripes, applied by the men of the Grants to those who persisted in acting under New York authority against them, as the application of the "Beech Seal," might very well have been the product of Allen's quaint mind. But, as far as I know, tradition is silent as to the authorship of both those phrases. It ascribes to Allen the authorship of another phrase to describe that punishment which is certainly very characteristic of him. He spoke of it as "castigating them with the twigs of the wilderness." There shows the fulness, the exuberance, of Allen's mind. The offender must not think that he was incurring so small a danger as that of being whipped. It was more solemn and serious than "whipping." It was "castigation," and that not with a simple rod, but with the "twigs of the wilderness," as if all the trees of the forest on all the sides of the mountains and hills took part in the affair and aided in the punishment of the offender.

Allen used this expression in one of his pamphlets, and by adding to it one short phrase produced a powerful rhetorical effect. He says that the Green Mountain Boys prevailed against the land jobbers, "seized their magistrates and emissaries, and in fine, all those their abettors which dared to venture upon the contested lands, and chastised

them with the whips of the wilderness, *the growth of the land which they coveted.*"

That last fine phrase, by which he bound together the evil desire and the punishment for it, was characteristic of his mode of thought. His mind went below the surface of material things, and recognized their spiritual relations. The things which are unseen worked powerfully upon him, as well as the things that are seen. The essence of things was what he sought for, not the outward form only.

Law and order and Government? Certainly must men maintain them. But, says he: "Coloring a crime with a specious pretence of law only adds to the criminality of it, for it subverts the very design of law, prostituting it to the vilest purposes."

So his thought was not narrow and petty. It traveled in large circles and naturally sought for principles. The contest which he and the Green Mountain Boys were engaged in was not merely a question of so much property. It was a question of right and wrong, of justice and injustice. And, in such a contest, he felt that God was on their side—that God of whose divine nature, as he says, the characteristics are "eternal wisdom, unalterable rectitude, impartial justice and immense goodness."

His sense of reliance upon the Divine Justice was a living one. When he wrote "as to the world of spirits, though I knew nothing of the mode and manner of it, I expected nevertheless, when I should arrive at such a world, that I should be as well treated as other gentlemen of my merit," that was not any expression of such a self-conceit as made the French nobleman say, "I am sure that God will think twice before he will damn a person of my quality," but an expression of his sense that in the next life, as in this,

he was in the hands of a Being who was no respecter of persons, who would render to every man according to his works, indeed, but who, being the Judge of all the earth, would surely do right.

This feeling of his that God is the ruler of the world appears sometimes very unexpectedly.

After Gov. Tryon had offered a reward of £150 for the capture of Allen, and £50 apiece for the capture of five other Green Mountain Boys, Allen and two others of them offered a counter reward of £15 for James Duane and £10 for John Kempe, Duane being one of the principal New York land claimants, and Kempe the Attorney General. And their offer of this reward has this preamble:

"Whereas, James Duane and John Kempe of New York have by their menaces and threats greatly disturbed the public peace and repose of the honest peasants of Bennington and the settlements to the Northward, which peasants are now and ever have been in the peace of God and the King," therefore, etc.

Not merely peaceful peasants, not merely in the King's peace, but, as you see, *in the peace of God and the King*, to disturb whose repose by menaces and threats was not only a wrong before the King, but before God himself.

So, when he thundered at the door of Capt. Delaplace, and demanded the immediate surrender of Ticonderoga, and the Captain, appearing at the door "with his breeches in his hand," stammered forth the inquiry by what authority he demanded it, it was not in his own name, it was not in the name of Vermont, or of the Massachusetts or Connecticut Committee of Safety, that he made the demand, but "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." With the same feeling which made Mrs. Howe write "For

God is marching on"—with the same feeling which sounded forth in the mighty shout of the host of the Crusaders, "God wills it! God wills it," he made his demand, first of all, in the name of the Ruler of the Universe, whose officer he was and whose plans and purposes he was carrying into effect, and next in the name of the Government of the whole continent—of the Continental Congress. Such a demand, made by virtue of two such astonishing sources of authority, must have come upon the dazed spirit of Captain Delaplace much as a bucket of cold water would have come upon his person, as he stood there, "with his breeches in his hand;" and before he had time to recover his presence of mind, the surrender was an accomplished fact.

Ofttimes the use of single words by Allen brings out some strong characteristic of the man. It had been one of the obvious grounds of complaint by the Vermonters, that, if they ever considered whether they should not settle the controversy between them and the holders of New York grants by buying the New York title, they found that they could only do so by paying the value of the lands as enhanced by the labor which the Vermonters had themselves put upon them by clearing and cultivation.

In one case the situation was reversed. Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys visited Durham, where lands were actually held under New York grants, and compelled those settlers to promise to purchase a New Hampshire title for the lands which they already occupied. After they had left Durham, word was brought to Allen that holders of New Hampshire titles were trying to claim the same advanced price of those lands as the New York land jobbers had demanded for theirs. His sense of justice was outraged, and he wrote to the very men whom he had brought

before the "judgment seat" and tried, on his visit to Durham, to say to them that he was "concerned for their welfare in this matter," for, said he, "It is my opinion that you in justice ought to have the title at a reasonable rate, as new lands were valued at the time you purchased." Therefore, said he, "On condition Col. Willard, or any other person demand an exorbitant price for your lands, we scorn it, and will assist you in mobbing such avaricious persons; for we mean to use force against oppression, and that only. Be it in New York, Willard or any other person, it is injurious to the rights of the District."

Note how those three words of his, "we scorn it," show the fire which burned in his spirit against injustice and meanness and against oppression, wherever he met it.

I quote one other expression of his, which also brings strongly out that fire in his spirit which was ready to flare up at any time.

He had set on foot a proceeding to confiscate the property of his brother Levi for having adopted Tory principles, and for having, as he said, among other things, held treasonable correspondence with the enemy, and "exerted himself in the most falacious manner to injure the property and character of some of the most zealous friends to the independency of the United States, and of this State likewise." Thereupon Levi, in his opposition to the confiscation proceedings, sought to prove that there was personal hostility to him on Ethan's part, and he made affidavit that one of his acquaintances, meeting Ethan, had said to him that he had recently seen Levi, and that Ethan's answer was: "Seen Levi? Well! how was he? damn his lukewarm soul!" I have not the slightest doubt that Ethan's speech was correctly reported. It bears the hall-mark of the man. In

a certain Quaker meeting, after long silence, one of the sisters arose and slowly said, "Spirits are nigher kin than flesh," and sat down again. Whatever were the ties of blood, no "lukewarm soul" could claim any relationship with the strenuous, fiery spirit of Ethan Allen.

Although Allen could be laconic on occasion, that was by no means the prominent characteristic of his writing. His style is abundant, overflowing, exuberant, in particulars, in adjectives, in epithets. When he is picturing the division of the ways before which the country stood at the opening of the Revolution, he says: "A vast continent must now sink to slavery, poverty, horror and bondage, or rise to unconquerable freedom, immense wealth, inexpressible felicity and immortal fame." It is not slavery alone which is before the country, but "slavery, poverty, horror and bondage." It is not only freedom which it may maintain, but "*unconquerable freedom, inexpressible felicity and immortal fame.*"

For a fine "derangement of epitaphs," (to quote Mrs. Malaprop) take this opening sentence from his narrative of the capture of Remember Baker by Sheriff Monro and his posse: "This wicked, inhuman, most barbarous, infamous, cruel, villainous and thievish act was perpetrated, committed and carried into execution by one John Monro." In the same narrative he tells how Baker had burst a board off the gable of his house and leaped to the ground in an effort to escape; whereupon part of the ruffians, he says, "were ordered to set on him a large, spiteful, wilful and very malicious dog, educated and brought up agreeable to their own forms and customs, who, being, like those other servants of the devil, at that time all obedience, seized the said Baker."

For another broadside of epithet, take the onslaught which he makes upon the men who passed the New York Act of Outlawry in 1774, against him and his friends. And indeed that act was a monstrosity of legislation. It was worthy of Allen's words when he said it was "replete with malicious turpitude."

I pause a moment to make a suggestion, viz., that if any legislator shall have in mind a piece of legislation, past, present, or to come, for which he cherishes an especial hostility, if he can use Ethan Allen's phrase and characterize it as being "replete with malicious turpitude," he will find the phrase to be eminently satisfactory and exhaustive.

That Outlawry Act well deserved all the indignation which Allen poured out upon it and its makers. It provided first that if more than three of the Vermonters assembled and, being ordered to disperse, did not do so, they should be subject to twelve months' imprisonment. It also provided that Gov. Tryon might issue a proclamation ordering Ethan Allen and seven others, by name, to surrender themselves for commitment, and that, if any one of them did not do so within seventy days thereafter, he should be adjudged attainted of felony, and without any trial whatever, should suffer death without benefit of clergy.

Now listen to Allen's views on the subject: "And inasmuch as the malignity of their disposition towards us hath flamed to an immeasurable and murderous degree, they have in their newfangled laws so calculated them as to correspond with the depravedness of their minds and morals; in them laws they have exhibited their genuine pictures. The emblems of their unsatiable, avaricious, inhuman, barbarous and blood-guiltiness of disposition is therein portrayed in that transparent image of themselves which cannot

fail to be a blot and an infamous reproach to them to posterity." It was no time for mild words. Men's passions were hot. The indignation of just men was high. And doubtless many a man on the Grants, as he read this, was glad that there was one man with a gift of language equal to the requirements of the situation, and in his heart thanked Ethan Allen.

But Allen knew very well that mere hard words were not all that was needed, but that any one who should seek to execute that atrocious outlawry must understand that it would be a perilous undertaking, and he wrote: "These bloody lawgivers know we are necessitated to oppose their execution of law, where it points directly at our property, or give up the same. But there is one thing is matter of consolation to us, viz., that printed sentences of death will not kill us when we are at a distance; and if the executioners approach us, they will be as likely to fall victims to death as we. And that person or country of persons are cowards indeed, if they cannot as manfully fight for their liberty, property and life, as villains can do to deprive them thereof."

That sentence was quite suggestive of danger. But a mere suggestion was not sufficient. There must be no misunderstanding. And so he and the other outlawed men gave notice to "the magistrates, sheriffs, under-sheriffs, coroners and constables, that hold their posts of honor and profit under our bitter enemies," that if they presumed to apprehend the outlawed men "we are resolved to inflict immediate death on whomsoever may attempt the same." And he added: "If the governmental authority of New York would judge in their own case and insist upon killing us to take possession of our 'vineyards,' come on! We are ready for a game of scalping with them; for our martial spirits glow

with bitter indignation and consummate fury to blast their infernal projections." Does any one say this is "rhodomontade," mere empty bluster? Such was not the feeling of those to whom those high sounding words were addressed. They knew the man to be not a man of empty words alone, but of solid deeds. These words came from that mouth whose firm, determined jaw bit off the ten-penny nail. They were the expression of that spirit which British dungeons, chains and starvation could not shake. When the New York sympathizers in Brattleboro appealed to Gov. Clinton to take most speedy measures for their relief, "for otherwise," said they, "our persons and property must be at the disposal of Ethan Allen, which is more to be dreaded than death with all its terrors," they knew they were not in danger of dealing with an empty braggart, but with a man whose actions were commensurate with his words.

In the Narrative of his Captivity, Allen draws in terrible colors, and with terrible clearness the sufferings of the American prisoners in the British dungeons in New York. And, mentioning the names of those who were instrumental in perpetrating the cruelties under which those patriots perished, his blood boils, and he writes with a pen of fire. "Cunningham, their provost Marshal, and Keef, his deputy, were as great rascals as their army could boast of, except one Joshua Loring, an infamous tory, who was commissary of prisoners; nor can any of these be supposed to be equally criminal with Gen. Sir William Howe and his associates, who prescribed and directed the murders and cruelties which were by them perpetrated. This Loring is a monster!—There is not his like in human shape. He exhibits a smiling countenance, seems to wear a phiz of humanity, but has been instrumentally capable of the most

consummate acts of wickedness, which were first projected by an abandoned British council clothed with the authority of a Howe, murdering premeditatedly, in cold blood, near or quite two thousand helpless prisoners, and that in the most clandestine, mean and shameful manner, at New York. He is the most mean-spirited, cowardly, deceitful and destructive animal in God's creation below; and legions of infernal devils, with all their tremendous horrors, are impatiently ready to receive Howe and him, with all their detestable accomplices, into the most exquisite agonies of the hottest region of hell fire."

Lieut. Col. Graham, who came to live in Rutland in 1785, in his letters says: "I have often heard Gen. Allen affirm that he should live again under the form of a large white horse." After reading this denunciation of Loring and Howe, it seems plain to me that, if Ethan Allen ever had such a belief, the figure which appeared before his vision was no old white nag jogging slowly along the sandy roads through the Pine Plains east of Burlington, or standing with drooping head and lazily flicking off the flies on some hot afternoon under a solitary tree upon a hillside pasture. The white horse in which the fiery spirit of Ethan Allen could appear, must have had something in him of that pale steed, upon which, ever since the vision of the Seer of Patmos, King Death has charged down through the ages upon the generations of the sons of men.

With a powerful physique, with a strong mind, with truth, generosity and honor, with boldness and courage, with a vehement, forcible and oratorical mode of expressing his thoughts; with an original something in him which commanded admiration, with a clearness of perception which saw that the independence of the State was the sole solution

of the conflicting claims to the territory of the State, and would see nothing else; and with an enthusiasm in the cause of that independence of Vermont which made him declare that rather than fail in it he "would retire to the desolate caverns of the mountains and make war upon human nature at large,"—with such characteristics, what wonder that he became a leader of men? What wonder that, though he was born in Connecticut and spent three-fifths of his life in the "Land of Steady Habits," no one thinks of him in connection with any State but Vermont? What wonder that the seventeen years which he spent within her borders so thoroughly identified him with her, that if you would bring up before the mind's eye of her sons anywhere a vision of the peaks of the Green Mountains, of the hills and valleys between the swift flowing river on the east and the beautiful lake on the west, and of the people who dwelt upon those hillsides and in those valleys—that "most active and most rebellious race on the continent" which "hung like a gathering storm" upon Gen. Burgoyne's left flank, all that is necessary to evoke that vision is to name the name of Ethan Allen.

APPENDIX.

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To the gifts to the Society mentioned in the report of the Librarian, may be added the following received since the Annual Meeting of 1902.

Manuscript Memorial of Colonel Joseph Wait (from whom Waits River in Orange County was named), captain of a company of Green Mountain Boys in 1771 and of a company in Seth Warner's regiment in 1775; lieutenant-colonel of a regiment raised to reinforce Benedict Arnold in his campaign against Quebec; mortally wounded in a skirmish just before the naval battle of Valcour Island, in October, 1776, and buried in Clarendon, Vt., with lists of Wait's and Rogers' Rangers,—the gift of Hon. Horatio Loomis Wait of Chicago.

Since the Annual Meeting of 1902, the Portraits of the late Henry Stevens of Vermont, the Founder of the Vermont Historical Society, and Candace (Salter) Stevens, his wife, the intended gift of which, by their son B. F. Stevens, was mentioned in the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of 1900, have been received and will be placed in the State House at Montpelier with the other portraits of honored Vermonters.

The portraits were accompanied by the following letter:

LETTER FROM MRS. B. F. STEVENS.

The Sheaves, Ewell Road, Surbiton Hill, Surrey.

14 January, 1903.

G. G. Benedict, Esq., President Vermont Historical Society, Burlington, Vt.:

DEAR SIR:

I have pleasure in presenting to your Society the Portraits of Henry Stevens, the Founder of the Society, and of Candace his wife. These were promised to you by my late husband, Mr. Benjamin Franklin Stevens. It is gratifying to me that they should be placed in the rooms of the Vermont Historical Society which seems to me to be their most fitting home.

As requested in your letter of the 25th December last, they have been sent to Mr. E. M. Goddard, Librarian of the Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont.

Yours sincerely,

CHARLOTTE STEVENS.



